



THE
ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES
OF
The Cymry :

OR

THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH;

ITS

HISTORY, DOCTRINE, AND RITES.

BY

THE REV. JOHN WILLIAMS, M.A.,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF NERQUIS, DIOCESE OF ST. ASAPH.



LONDON :
W. J. CLEAVER, BAKER STREET,
PORTMAN-SQUARE.

M.DCCC.XLIV.

LONDON:
RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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748
W6732

TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
THE LORDS BISHOPS OF
ST. ASAPH, BANGOR, LLANDAFF, AND ST. DAVID'S,
THIS VOLUME
ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF THAT CHURCH
OF WHICH THEY ARE NOW
THE LIVING REPRESENTATIVES,
IS,
WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF DUTIFUL VENERATION
FOR THEIR APOSTOLIC OFFICE,
AND FOR THEIR
FAITHFUL DISCHARGE OF ITS HIGH AND HOLY FUNCTIONS,
AND WITH AN EARNEST PRAYER
THAT THEIR NUMBER MAY REMAIN UNDIMINISHED
UNTIL THE END OF TIME,
MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY
THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

THE purport of the following pages is to exhibit, in one view, the various features of the ancient Church of Cymru during its metropolitical existence. A work of this nature was always desirable, but the want of it was never, perhaps, so much felt as now, when ecclesiastical antiquities are so generally canvassed among Christians.

It is true that we are already in possession of several treatises relative to the religion of our Catholic ancestors ; and the learned authors who bequeathed them to us ought not to be mentioned except in terms of respect and gratitude. Still we are free to confess that their researches are not of a form sufficiently systematical, plain, and comprehensive, to suit the cravings and capacities of the ordinary reader. Subjects of main interest only, such as the origin, government, or independence of the Church, have been expressly investigated, whilst particulars, apparently of minor importance, have been left wholly untouched, or but incidentally and subserviently noticed. Some of the writers may have conducted themselves also more as advocates in support of their respective positions, than as candid and impartial historians. Some have couched their

facts and opinions in a language inaccessible to the community at large. And all have more or less confounded the character of the Cambrian with that of its sister Churches in the northern and southern provinces of Britain. Further, those who have endeavoured to describe the historical progress of early Christianity in the island, have either stopped with the mission of Augustine, or else deviated in an Anglican direction, overlooking afterwards not only the distinctive character, but even the very existence of the Church of Wales. Hence it was necessary, that, whosoever wished to be fairly acquainted with any of its details, should cull his information, by a laborious process, from different and scattered fields.

These considerations denote that the accounts which hitherto we have of the ancient British Church are far from complete. The present volume is therefore intended, not by any means to supersede them, but in some measure to supply their deficiencies, and that with especial reference to Cymru.

The Church of the Cymry is selected, not merely because former writers have delineated it less correctly than its neighbours, but rather inasmuch as it was the original, and therefore the legitimate communion of the land. For thus may be truly applied to that people as a Church, what was said of them as a nation ; “ No one has any right to the isle of Prydain but the tribe of the Cymry, for they first settled in it,” *i. e.* as Christians.

Possessing the primary see, their archbishops could justly claim patriarchal jurisdiction over all the dioceses in the island.

In our controversies with Rome we should ever bear this point in mind. It is of little consequence whether the provinces of York and London were represented in the council of Sardica, or acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope or not, as long as the Cambrian prelates stood aloof, and maintained their own independence. And that they did present a distinct and independent bearing of this nature for several centuries, is sufficiently manifested in the body of this work.

The Bardo-Druidical system of the aboriginal colony had been also in like manner incorrectly sketched. Hence it was deemed necessary on the present occasion to clear that subject, not so much with a view to ascertain the moral ground upon which Christianity had to act, as for the better understanding of the external condition of the infant Church. For this was materially affected by the influence of the College of Bards, which continued to be recognized by the civil government long after the introduction of the Gospel.

It is not to be expected that English or Foreign historians could have formerly known much of the real state of Cymru, in consequence of the inaccessible nature of domestic documents. These, until recently, were for the most part buried in private libraries, and, moreover, written in a language scarcely understood out of the

confines of the principality. A great portion of them, however, being now published, and it being the good fortune of the writer in some degree to comprehend their contents, liberal and prominent use has been made of them on this occasion. Indeed they are the authorities which may be said to impart to the work its peculiar character, or to form the basis on which it stands. Their respective claims to credit may be gathered from the notes which refer to them, and need not here be investigated. We will merely observe, that if any are more authentic than others, they are the Laws, Triads, and Genealogies, which seem to have been in a manner nationally drawn up or compiled.

However novel and striking these records may at first sight appear to be, they nevertheless successfully bear the test of inquiry. Thus among themselves they mutually confirm each other's statements. For instance, the principles of Bardism, which to some will seem too good, are supported by the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud, and the excellence of these again by the testimony of Caradog of Llancarvan, the historian, in the twelfth century. They also explain many extraneous authorities, which otherwise were thought hard to believe. Thus the Epistle of Eleutherius was generally rejected as spurious, because it contemplated a state of things in Britain at the time adverse to the popular notion: but the same agrees fairly with the description given of Cymru in its own records. The Triads reduce into reasonable

dimensions the marvellous legend concerning the conversion of the island, and the establishment of three archbishoprics by Lucius, so that it needs not be altogether believed, neither absolutely rejected. Moreover the authorities in question are found sometimes to tally exactly with the inference of persons who have merely, but carefully, examined the drift of more distant documents. Stillingfleet, who never had an opportunity of seeing the Triads, or Genealogies of the Saints, yet after duly weighing the merits of his scanty materials, in reference to the introduction of Christianity, comes to this conclusion, so agreeable thereto: "It is certain that St. Paul did make considerable converts at his coming to Rome, which is the reason of his mentioning the saints in Cæsar's household. And it is not improbable that some of the British captives, carried over with Caractacus and his family, might be some of them, who would certainly promote the conversion of their country by St. Paul."

But though principally, yet not exclusively have these documents been used. They have been seconded, and their deficiencies supplied by Greek, Latin, and English authorities. Sometimes statements, whether positive or inferential, as to the provinces of Britain in general, have been particularly applied to that of Cymru; and even those which had an express reference to the north or south, have been adduced for the purposes of describing its usages. Care, however, has been taken that there

should be reasonable ground for such an application. Where it is said that some clergymen, who dwelt in the isles of the ocean, and on the utmost borders of the habitable world, repaired to Constantinople, in the ninth century, to make inquiries about Easter, it is inferred not only that they were Britons, from their insular and extreme abode, but moreover Cymry, because of the preference for oriental customs which that people showed on other occasions, and because they were the last to submit to any alteration of the paschal season. And it is supposed that the mode of consecrating churches, which Bede ascribes to the northern Christians, was identical with that in use among the Cymry, because of its peculiarity. That is, seeing it was not borrowed from abroad, it is more probable that it was the original and common practice of the island, than invented in Lindisfarne or amongst the East Saxons, and especially since something of a similar nature was moreover adopted by Garmon in Wales. Nevertheless such matters are not attempted to be imposed upon the Cambrian communion without some notification of the reasons, and the reader, after all, is at liberty to exercise his discretion concerning them.

The work, as its title denotes, divides itself into three main parts, treating respectively of the history, rites, and doctrine of the Church. The Introduction may perhaps be considered as another, in which the rise, progress, and substance of Bardism are briefly and com-

prehensively described. The materials used for this purpose are chiefly obtained from the traditions and regulations of that ancient institution, repeatedly sanctioned as they were at its different congresses. The history of the Church extends down to the end of the twelfth century, and is principally drawn from the Genealogies of the Saints, and the Bruts or Chronicles of Wales. Interspersed are such notices of temporal affairs as the national character of the Church seemed particularly to require. It is indeed remarkable how the grand changes in its external condition coincided in point of time with, or were influenced by, civil innovations. Thus its period of simplicity, holiness, and independence, may be said, in a sense, to have expired with the ancient monarchy. Under the princes it gradually assimilated itself to the surrounding communions, until at length, through the power of the English, it finally submitted to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. And though, moreover, the precise eras at which the natives abandoned some of their ancient traditions in particular for Romish customs, as in the case of Easter and the Tonsure, may, from certain circumstances, be pretty well conjectured, yet their transitions in respect to others are not so easily ascertained, further than that they took place subsequently to the mission of Augustine. There were some developments too, which the Cambrian Church underwent, peculiar to itself. So that several points mentioned among the "Rites," cannot be warranted as

existing in their stated form in any age but that of the authorities which refer to them. The same is observed of the singular features of "Doctrine," which appear in the work. Of both departments the materials are scanty, and more particularly so in reference to the former stage of the Church's progress.

The writer, with all his national prejudices, has studiously endeavoured to steer throughout in the track of truth. With that view he trusts that he has not palliated or concealed the faults of his ancestors, nor attributed unworthy motives to their Christian rivals. He has carefully abstained from dressing mere inferences and probabilities in the language of positiveness. Finely turned sentences have not been attempted, lest even a florid phraseology should detract from the simplicity and force of his authorities, or pervert their original meaning. His aim has been to display facts rather than words. With what real success, however, the public will judge.

Should any one hereafter be desirous of delineating the Church in Wales during the Middle Ages, he will find plenty of sources on which to draw in the productions of the country. By far the greater proportion of the Myvyrian Archæology refers to that period, abounding moreover in statements and allusions relative to the history and character of the national religion. Much information may be obtained from the Register of Llandaf. Works which would seem well calculated to further such a design, are advertised as about to be pub-

lished under the auspices of the Welsh MSS. Society. These are a “Miscellaneous Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts in prose and poetry, from originals collected by the late Edward Williams”; “The Lives of the Welsh Saints, from various ancient manuscripts in the British Museum and elsewhere”; “Chronicle of Wales, in the Lambeth Library”; “Chronicle of Wales in the Thirteenth Century, compiled in the Abbey of Strata Florida,—in the Record Office”; “The inedited matter in the *Llyvr Coch o Hergest*, in the library of Jesus College, Oxford”; “*Llyvr Coch Llanellwy*, or the Red Book of St. Asaph”; and the “*Registrum Prioratus de Brecknock*.” All of course will be accompanied by English translations. It ought not to be said that the subject is forestalled in the histories of the Church of England, and therefore not to be treated again. Indeed, the Welsh branch, since the union, has scarcely been noticed at all in those works; besides, it possessed still in some degree a peculiarity of character which would justify a separate treatise for its development: witness the “*Use*” and “*Pontifical of Bangor*.” Surely we would gladly welcome any additional information respecting the Church of our fathers.

Church of our Fathers! And is it not also our own? Blessed be God, we too have the priesthood and sacraments, by means of which we are united to Christ, and in him to all his saints. Our union with him is not metaphorical or moral, but real and substantial, according to his desire: “Neither pray I for these alone, but for

them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, AS thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, EVEN AS we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.” (*John* xvii. 20-23.) This union indeed annihilates time and space, for already we “ARE come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.” (*Heb.* xii. 22-24.) Dewi, Padarn, and Teilo, are still our brethren, members of the same family, and present with us, though we see them not with the eye of flesh. It is this consideration which gives us such a deep interest in their history.

Church of our fathers! And not without reason may we use the expression. For where amongst ourselves shall we find the piety, zeal and love, which actuated their conduct in the cause of our common Lord and Master? Where is that courage which enabled Cyn-deyrn, “the amiable,” after his expulsion from Penryn Rhionydd, to establish the bishopric of Llanelwy, in spite of the powerful opposition of Maelgwn Gwynedd?

But he walked in the path of duty, and the Church was blessed. The wrath of man was made to praise God, and the remainder of wrath he restrained. (*Ps. lxxvi. 10.*) Cyndeyrn was restored to his northern diocese, and saw even "the tempter of saints" relent so as to bestow diverse immunities and privileges upon the see which once had been the object of his hostile resistance. And may we not rescue a see, so boldly and successfully established, from the destruction awarded to it in high places? Truly it was founded with a view to the glory of God and the salvation of man. Its extinction will impede the free course of the Gospel of truth. Would, therefore, that the maxim of Asaf sounded its awful import in the ears of our rulers, so as to deter them effectually from their sacrilegious purposes:

"Quicumque verbo Dei adbersarentur, saluti hominum inbident."

Cymru could once boast of an archbishopric of its own, four, if not five suffragans, and a goodly number of chorepiscopi. Now, we can scarcely retain possession of four humble sees. Well, therefore, under such circumstances, may we emphatically talk of the Church of our fathers!

And our ancient monasteries, where are they? Let not the Protestant-minded Churchman startle at the inquiry. Probably he would be among the very first and loudest to assert the independence of early Britain, and yet he would certainly find within his period of liberty the actual existence of those holy retreats of learning and religion, call them what he will,—monas-

teries, colleges, or bangors. Nor were they indeed the growth of Popery, for they originated before Augustine ever set foot on our shores. And it was the abbot of Bangor Iscoed that was deputed by his Church and country to express the formal renunciation of the pretensions of the Pope, when he addressed his legate in those memorable words: "We are under the government of the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who is to oversee, under God, over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual." We may almost say that the introduction of Popery was the extinction of British monasteries, at least in their primitive form.

None of these remain to us, though we are equally with our ancestors exposed to the wiles and temptations of a wicked world. We want the "continual choral songs;" we want "congregations of the faithful to celebrate with fervent devotion the sacrifice of Christ," as much as they did in the days of the patron saint of Cymru.

Other treasures had our ancestors, which we grasp at in vain. But they were worthy of them; and until we attain more of their holy temper and disposition, things are perhaps as well as they are. Otherwise it would be like casting pearls before swine. Let us duly appreciate and make a proper use of what has been left to us, and God will in His own good time restore us to our full heritage.

NEQUIS.

The Feast of St. Matthew, 1844.

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INTRODUCTION.

BARDISM.

“I will shew thee, hear me; and that which I have seen I will declare; which wise men have told from their fathers, and have not hid it, unto whom alone the earth was given.”—*Job* xv. 17, 18, 19.

WE are infallibly assured that the earth was divided in the days of Peleg, who was born about a century after the flood, and died ten years before Noah. In some instances at least division and actual possession must have been simultaneous. Thus the inspired Historian, having mentioned by name the seven sons of Japheth, and his grandsons by Gomer and Javan, expressly adds;—“*By these* were the isles of the Gentiles *divided in their lands*; every one after his tongue, after their families in their nations.”*

The Hebrews, who are the best expositors of the historical part of the Old Testament, understand by the “isles of the Gentiles,”† the continent of Europe and all its adjacent islands. These are certainly very remote from the vicinity of Ararat, nevertheless, if we admit the correctness of the comment, the inference inevitably follows, that Britain, even before the death of Noah, was really colonised, or constituted an integral though

* Gen. x. 5.

† In sacred geography, the word *island* does not always mean a spot surrounded by water. It rather imports a *settlement* or *plantation*; that is to say, a colony or establishment, as distinct from an open, unappropriated region. So *Job* xxii. 30—“He shall deliver the island of the innocent,” i.e. settlement, or establishment. And *Isaiah* xlii. 15,—“I will make the rivers islands;” rather *settlements* of human population. —*See Calmet’s Dict. by Taylor. sub voc. Islands; and Parkhurst sub voc. ʾN*

uninhabited portion of a wider allotment, to receive its quota of population gradually as "God should enlarge Japheth."

Whilst all mankind dwelt together, and submitted to the authority of the supreme Patriarch, there existed no variety in their religious creed. "The whole earth was of one language (opinion), and of one speech (sentiment)."* Even the impious enterprise, in which "the children of men" engaged on the plain of Shinar, does not necessarily imply existing errors of doctrine. Their express object was to "make themselves a name,† lest they should be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."‡ However obstinate and lawless then, they could not have generally forgotten the lessons of their early youth, which they had been taught by the priests of their fathers' houses. But "when they *knew* God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful. *Professing* themselves to be wise, they became fools."§ Moreover we find that the true religion was maintained more or less among the doomed descendants of Ham as late as the year 544 after the flood.|| These circumstances afford us the strongest reasons for presuming that the progeny of favoured Japheth had not lost, nor materially impaired it, when they reached their destined habitations. St. Paul indeed, in his eloquent discourse at Athens, seems to intimate that the knowledge of the true God and the practice of his worship were at the dispersion extended over all the earth;—"God that made the world and all things therein, hath made of one blood *all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the*

* Gen. xi. 1.

† It may be inferred from this expression, that the enterprise did not comprehend all mankind, as is popularly supposed, for in the estimation of whom, could all men, united in one society, be great or famous? The same conclusion may be drawn from the name of *Nimrod*, the chief leader of the undertaking. His own subjects could never have styled him the *Rebel* or *Son of Rebellion*. It must be confessed that the words of Moses, as they stand in our version, seem clearly to involve all mankind in the crime; but in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate versions, no such meaning is expressed. In every one of these the passage runs thus: "And the earth was of one lip, and one voice was to them all; and it fell out during the journeying of those from the east:"—where it is obvious that the announcement as to the sameness of language is merely parenthetical.

‡ Gen. v. 4.

§ Rom. i 21, 22.

|| Gen. xxvi.

earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; THAT THEY SHOULD SEEK THE LORD, if haply they might feel after him and find him." *

The patriarchal priests were not confined to the affairs of religion: they were equally the depositories of human wisdom. The civil arts and sciences, in their several branches, formed a prominent part of their public instructions, and these were likewise carried to the different regions of the world, subject to certain varieties which necessarily arose from local circumstances. There is hardly a single art or branch of science traceable to any nation of high antiquity, that is not expressly mentioned or clearly alluded to in the book of Job. Yet it is remarkable, that all knowledge of the same is exclusively ascribed therein to the search of the long-lived fathers of mankind, and to the tradition of the great patriarchs, "to whom alone the earth was given."† This is strong evidence that the attainments of early countries were not so much the result of particular geniuses, as the relics of patriarchal knowledge conveyed from the seat of dispersion.

Thus the simple and general statements of Scripture enable us to form a powerful conjecture relative to the original appropriation, religion, and learning of Britain.

It is however a singular and fortunate circumstance, that this conclusion should be in entire accordance with our best national traditions. The historical Triads,‡ which purport to be "me-

* Acts xvii. 24, 26, 27.

† Job viii. xv.

‡ "The Historical Triads have been obviously put together at very different times. Some allude to circumstances about the first population and early history of the island, of which every other memorial has perished. The Triads were noticed by Camden with respect. Mr. Vaughan, the antiquary of Hengwrt, refers them to the seventh century. Some may be the records of more recent date. I think them the most curious, on the whole, of all the Welsh remains."—*A Vindication of the Ancient British Poems, by Sharon Turner, Esq. F.A.S.* 1803, p. 131.

"The Triades of the Isle of Britain, as they are called, are some of the most curious and valuable fragments preserved in the Welsh language. They relate of persons and events from the earliest times to the beginning of the seventh century."—*The Heroic Elegies, &c. of Llywarch Hen, by William Owen, p. viii.*

The Triads which we insert above, are from a series in the second

morials and records of the events which befel the race of the Cymry from the age of ages," give us the following intimations of the primary colonization of the island :—

"There were three names given to the Isle of Britain from the beginning. Before it was inhabited, it was called *Clas Merddin (the sea-girt green spot)*. After it was inhabited, it was called *Y Vel Ynys (the honey Isle)*. And after the people were formed into a commonwealth by Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr (*the great*), it was denominated *Ynys Prydain (the Isle of Prydain, or Britain)*. And no one *has any right* to it but the tribe of the Cymry, for they *first* settled in it; and before that time *no persons lived therein*, but it was full of bears, wolves, and bisons."*

"The three *social tribes* of the Isle of Britain.

"The first was the tribe of the Cymry, that came with Hu Gadarn (*the mighty*) into the Isle of Britain, because he would not possess a country and lands by fighting and persecution, but justly and in peace.

"The second was the tribe of the Lloegrians,† who came from the land of Gwasgwyn;‡ and they were descended from the primitive tribe of the Cymry.

"The third were the Brython, who came from the land of Llydaw,§ and who were also descended from the primitive tribe of the Cymry.

volume of the Welsh or Myvyrian Archæology. To the copy from which a transcript was made for that work, the following note is annexed:—"These Triads were taken from the Book of Caradoc of Nantgarvan, and from the Book of Jevan Brechva, by me, Thomas Jones of Tregaron—and these are all I could get of the three hundred—1601." Caradoc of Nantgarvan lived about the middle of the twelfth century. Jevan Brechva wrote a compendium of the Welsh annals, down to 1150.

* Triad 1.

† The dwellers about the Loire or Liger. Gwas-Gwyn or Gwas-Gwynnt, the country of the *Veneti*, about the mouth of the Loire, and not *Vasconia*. It was the country to which the Britons sent their fleet, in order to assist the Celtae of Gaul, their relations, against the arms of Cæsar. Compare Triad 14 with Cæsar, B. G. iii. 8, 9.—*Davies's Celtic Researches*, p. 155.

‡ Letavia or Lexovia, the *water-side*. This name is confined at the present day to *Britany*; but it formerly comprehended the entire coast of Gaul.

"These were called the three *peaceful tribes*, because they came, by mutual consent and permission, in peace and tranquillity: and these three tribes had sprung from the primitive race of the Cymry, and the three were of one language and one speech."†

"The three national pillars of the Isle of Britain:

"First, Hu Gadarn, who first brought the nation of the Cymry to the Isle of Britain. They came from the *country of Hav*,‡ which is called Defrobani (that is the place where Constantinople now stands); and they came over Mor Tawch,§ to the Isle of Britain, and to Llydaw, where they settled."||

"The three benefactors of the race of the Cymry.

"The first, Hu Gadarn, who first shewed the race of the Cymry the method of cultivating the ground, when they were in the land of Hav (namely, where Constantinople now stands), before they came into the Isle of Britain."¶

"The three awful events of the Isle of Britain.

"First, the bursting of the lake of waters, and the overwhelming of the face of all lands; so that all mankind were

† Triad 5.

‡ The country of Hâv, literally translated, would be "the summer country." "*Hâv*, in our old orthography (as in *Lib. Land.*), would be *Hâm*; it may import, *Hæmus* or *Hæmonia*. *Defrobani* may either be *Dy-vro-banau*, the land of eminences, or high points, Thrace in general; or else *Dyvro-Banwy*, the land or vale of the Peneus, Thessaly, *Hæmonia*." — *Davies's Celtic Researches*, p. 165.

§ *Môr Tawch*; lit. the *hazy sea*, that is, the German Ocean, the haze of which is well known to mariners. Perhaps it should be the *Dacian Sea*, for Germany, in the middle ages, frequently went by the name of *Dacia*. Polydore Virgil says, that the Dacians moved from the middle of Germany to the coasts opposite Britain; that they inhabited the shore of the German Sea, and from thence continually harrassed the English. "*Hæc itaque gens ferox, quæ Germanicum nunc Oceanum accolit.—Hæc enim Dacia longo Oceani maris intervallo, ab Anglia discreta est.*"

|| Triad 4.

¶ Triad 56. Iolo Goch, a Bard who flourished from about A. D. 1370 to 1420, alludes to the circumstance recorded in the Triad:

"Hu Gadarn—

After the deluge, held

The strong beamed plough, active and excellent."

drowned, except Dwyvan and Dwyvach,* who escaped in a naked vessel [without sails], and of them the Isle of Britain was repeopled.”†

“The three chief master works of the Isle of Britain.

“The ship of Nevydd Nav Neivion, which carried in it a male and a female of all living, when the lake of waters burst forth :

“The drawing of the avanc‡ to land out of the lake, by the branching oxen of Hu Gadarn, so that the lake burst no more :

“And the stones of Gwyddon Ganhebon, on which were read the arts and sciences of the world.”§

The words included within brackets do not belong to the original Triads, but are the comment of some antiquarian, at least as old as the middle of the twelfth century, inserted no doubt on the authority of documents or traditions then existing.

The substance therefore of the preceding memorials on the subject in question, is this:—That Britain was first inhabited by a colony from the east, which came over under the guidance of a person, in whose days, or not long previously, the universal deluge took place. Thus much is clear: but we may probably deduce further the following particulars:—a recognition of the principle which annexes Britain to the “isles of the Gentiles,” divided by the Japetidæ. “No one has any RIGHT to it but the tribe of the Cymry.” These took possession of it “JUSTLY and in peace.” Also, that these primary occupants were in no wise connected with those who had joined themselves to the rebellious standard of Nimrod.|| They were emphatically a “social and peaceful nation.”

* *The Godlike man and woman.* The man in the succeeding Triad is called Nevydd Nav Neivion, which imports the *celestial one, the Lord of the waters.* “Our old bards call him *Dylan ail Mor*; *Dylan*, or *Dyglan*,—son of the sea, from *Dy-glaniaw*, to land, or come to shore—whence perhaps, *Deu-calion*.”—*Celtic Researches*, p. 163.

† Triad 13.

‡ An amphibious animal.

§ Triad 97.

|| Sanchoniathon, speaking of those people who were dispersed from Babel, says,—“These are the people who are described as *exiles and wanderers*, and at the same time are called the *Titans*.”—*Euseb. P. E. L. i.* See also, *Job. c.*

Devotedness to the principles of justice and the arts of peace involves the cultivation of primeval wisdom. During their emigration, the Cymry were engaged in no broil or contention which would interrupt the regularity of the machinery of instruction. When they arrived in the Island, they adopted the principles of the grand division as the basis of their civil constitution, for Hu Gadarn “collected the race of the Cymry and disposed them into tribes.”* He also improved the art of oral tradition, as may be learned from the following Triad:—

“The three inventors of song and record of the race of the Cymry:

“Gwyddon Ganhebon, the first man in the world that composed vocal song (poetry);

“Hu Gadarn, who first adapted vocal song to the preservation of memory and record;

“And Tydain Tad Awen, who first conferred art on poetic song, and system on record.

“From what was done by these three men, originated Bards and Bardism: and the arranging of these things into a system of privilege and discipline was (afterwards) performed by the three primary Bards, Plennydd, Alawn, and Gwron.”†

The order observed here relative to the origin and progress of poetry, necessarily places Gwyddon Ganhebon prior to Hu Gadarn in point of time, and consequently before the general dispersion of mankind. The inference derives additional support from the peculiar expression used in reference to him:—He was “the first man in the *world* that composed vocal song.” We have seen the like expression embodied in another Triad;—“The stones of Gwyddon Ganhebon, on which were read the arts and sciences of the *world*.”

The consecration of poetry for the diffusion and transmission of truth, was an extremely wise and prudent measure. Verse is quickly and generally learned, its influence over the feelings is

xxx. It is remarkable that whilst almost all nations have traditionally retained traces of acquaintance with these wandering giants, none appear to have claimed them for its ancestors.

* Triad 57.

† Triad 92.

great, it dwells long on the memory, and from the nature of its structure almost defies perversion.

Still poetry was of the simplest kind : it was reserved for Tydain, at a subsequent period, to “introduce order and method”* into it. The precise form and extent of his improvements cannot now be ascertained, but it is probable that their general character may yet be traced in the peculiarity of Welsh poetry. They were however regarded by subsequent Bards of such mighty importance, as to merit for him the emphatic designation of *Tad Awen*, that is, *Father of the Muse*. It appears moreover that he was sedulous in promoting his new regulations among the young, for he is styled in the Triads the first of “the three primary youth trainers of the Isle of Britain.”†

“From what was done by these three men originated Bards and Bardism.” It is remarkable that in these early notices of Bardism, the improvements are made to refer invariably to the art of oral tradition. No mention is made of new doctrines. It was for the purpose of preserving existing tenets that the regulations of Hu Gadarn and Tydain Tad Awen were expressly made and adopted. As the former of these persons, according to our national traditions, lived at the time of the general dispersion, the doctrines of primitive Bardism must necessarily be considered as identical with the general creed of the Noachidæ.

The origin of Bardism is ascribed exclusively to the primary colony. The two other tribes mentioned in the Triad arrived in the island before they had forgotten their primitive tongue, or had lost the original and sound principle of just and peaceable possession. That they were here before Prydain the son of Aedd Mawr, who “organized a social state and sovereignty in Britain” about a thousand years before Christ, is evident from the following Triad, in which he is mentioned as having determined the limits and tenure of each colony :—“There are three principal provinces in the Isle of Britain ; Cymru, Lloegyr, and Alban ; each of these is subject to the sovereignty, and is governed, according to the common law of each province, under one sovereign, according to the limitation of Prydain the son of Aedd Mawr.”‡

* Triad 57.

† Triad 93.

‡ Triad 2.

It is probable that they introduced no distinctive system of their own. Such an idea at least is not countenanced by the opinion which prevailed in Gaul in the time of Julius Cæsar; “*Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque in Galliam translata esse, existimatur.*”* Indeed the pliancy of their disposition, which was frequently exhibited in later times, fully warrants the supposition, that they conformed to the customs of the older inhabitants, and adopted their religious institutes without demur, though they suffered them not to have a deep place in their feelings.† Still there were no penal enactments to enforce the general adoption of Bardism. “Before the time of Prydain, there was no justice but what was done by favour, nor any law except that of superior force;”‡ neither had the Bards a “licensed system or privileges, or customs, otherwise than what they obtained through kindness and civility under the protection of the nation and the people.”§

When the original principles of justice and benevolence ceased to be the sole regulators of the public mind, it became necessary to revise the constitution, and adapt it to the altered circumstances of the times. This was undertaken by Prydain. He “suppressed the dragon of tyranny, which was a tyranny of pillage and contempt of equity, that had sprung up in the island,”|| and consolidated the several states, as before intimated, under a general union, which elected and acknowledged a supreme head.

In his time also, it is presumed, Bardism was reduced into a regular institution, and invested with rights and privileges. This event is recorded in the following Triad:—

“The three primary Bards of the Isle of Britain: Plennydd, Alawn, and Gwron: that is, these formed the privileges and customs that appertain to Bards and Bardism, and therefore they are called the three *primary* Bards. Nevertheless there were Bards

* De Bell. Gall., l. vi, 13.

† Druidical monuments occur frequently in the *central* counties, and in the *west*, from Cornwall to Cumberland: whereas, comparatively, few traces of them are discovered in the *eastern* part of the island.

‡ Triad 4.

§ Triad 58.

|| Triad 55.

and Bardism before, but they had not a licensed system; and they had neither privileges nor customs otherwise than what they obtained through kindness and civility, under the protection of the nation and the people, before the time of these three.

[Some say that these lived in the time of Prydain the son of Aedd Mawr, but others affirm that they flourished in the time of Dyvnwal Moelmud, and this information they derive from ancient manuscripts, entitled Dyvnwarth the son of Prydain.]"*]

It will be seen from the concluditory observation, that there were two different opinions formerly entertained relative to the date of this event. As however the extant laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud contain clear allusions to the preexistence of the national college of the Bards, the latter hypothesis cannot possibly be admitted.

Here also it must be remarked that the regulations of Plennydd, Alawn, and Gwron, as related in the Triad, were merely external, and do not appear to have affected the fundamental principles of the system at all. "*There were Bards before,*" though not completely incorporated, and vested with exclusive privileges.

Granting, as is most reasonable, that the era of this transaction coincides with the reign of Prydain, the annals of Bardism present little of interest until the accession of Dyvnwal Moelmud. That eminent legislator, about four hundred years† before Christ, is said to have extended its influence by creating temples and giving them privileges of sanctuary.

The foregoing, as far as existing documents enable us to ascertain, are the principal epochs in the history of British Bardism prior to the introduction of Christianity. We proceed now, on the authority of traditions equally credible, to give an outline of the discipline, orders, costume, and privileges of the system after it had assumed a somewhat fixed and definite character.

It will be remembered that the principles, which prominently actuated the first leader of the Cymry, were intimated to be the basis of primitive Bardism, and that the Triads, which related

* Triad 58.

† Myv. Arch. vol. ii. Brut Tysilio.

subsequent improvements, alluded to no subversion or alteration of those principles. Accordingly the institutional Triads* represent the fundamental objects and principles of the Bardic system to be *search after truth*, and a *rigid adherence to justice and peace*.

“The three ultimate objects of Bardism :—To reform morals and customs,—to secure peace,—and to praise all that is good and excellent.”

“The three joys of the Bards of the Isle of Britain; the increase of knowledge,—the reformation of manners,—and the triumph of peace over devastation and pillage.”

“The three splendid honours of the Bards of the Isle of Britain;—the triumph of learning over ignorance;—the triumph of reason over irrationality;—and the triumph of peace over depredation and plunder.”

“The three attributes (or necessary and congenial duties) of the Bards of the Isle of Britain;—to manifest truth and diffuse the knowledge of it;—to perpetuate the praise of all that is good and excellent;—and to make peace prevail over disorder and violence.”

“The three necessary, but reluctant duties, of the Bards of the Isle of Britain;—secrecy for the sake of peace and public good;—invective lamentation required by justice;—and the

* “Poems Lyric and Pastoral,” vol. ii. p. 230, by Edward Williams, Bard. These Triads (our author says) are from a manuscript collection, by Llywelyn Sion, a Bard of Glamorgan, about the year 1560. He was one of those appointed to collect the system of Bardism as traditionally preserved in the Gorsedd Morganwg, or Congress of Glamorgan, when the maxims of the institution were in danger of being lost, in consequence of persecution. There is every probability that the Triads we have inserted above were drawn up in Druidical days. Their very contents appear to refer to times when the monarchy of Britain was inviolate; and when Bardism was incorporated with the state. They moreover agree with what the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud relate of the duties and offices of the Bards:—“Their privilege and office are to maintain, and preserve, and give sound instruction in *religion*, and *wisdom*, and *courtesy*; to record and preserve *every excellency* whether of individual or nation, &c.” Myv. Arch. vol. iii. Law Triad 61. “*Arms* are incompatible with their office;—*no weapon ought to be in the hand* of him, who, under the privilege of God and his tranquillity, *diffuses the arts and virtuous sciences*.”—Triad 107.

unsheathing of the sword against lawlessness and depredation."

"There are three avoidant injunctions on a Bard: to avoid sloth, because he is a man given to investigation;—to avoid contention, because he is a man given to peace;—and to avoid folly, because he is a man of discretion and reason."

For the more convenient and effectual accomplishment of its designs, the institution was divided into three orders;—the Bards,* the Druids,† and the Ovates,‡ and to each of these were attached particular pursuits and functions. The Bardic was the fundamental and predominant class,§ or that into which all the disciples were initiated in the first instance. On being admitted into this, they assumed one or the other as their inclination or qualification directed them. To this primary order belonged the perpetuation of the privileges and customs of the system. The Druids were such of the members as devoted themselves peculiarly to the exercise of religious duties. The Ovate was an honorary degree, apparently intended to create a power capable of acting on emergencies, on a plan different from the regular mode of proceeding; as well as of bringing within the system such kind of knowledge as was unknown or foreign to the original institution. To this order appertained more particularly the study of the arts and sciences, and candidates could be admitted on being acquainted with these, without being obliged to pass through the regular discipline.||

* "The literal meaning of the word *Bardd*, the Welsh of *Bard*, is, *one that maketh conspicuous*; and the idea intended to be conveyed is, a *teacher or philosopher*, and its import is well defined in Mason's epithet—*master of wisdom*."—"Bardism," by W. Owen, prefixed to "*the Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen*." p. xxiv.

† Wallice *Derwydd*. "The word implies *one set before, or in presence*."—*Ibid*. p. xxxviii.

‡ In Welsh *Ovydd*, "one who is initiated into first principles or elements."—*Dr. Pughe's Dict.*

§ A graduate of this class was called *Bard of Privilege*. After presiding at three conventions, he was denominated *Conventional Bard*, or simply *Bard of the Isle of Britain*.

|| See *Institutional Triads*, vol. ii. p. 230, of Ed. Williams's *Poems*; and *The Laws of Dynwal Moelmud*, in the 3rd vol. of the *Myv. Arch.*

The regular disciples were called Awenyddion. Their indispensable qualifications are thus declared;—"Three things without which no man can be a Bard;—a poetical genius,—a knowledge of the Bardic Institutes,—and irreproachable manners."* They were twenty years on trial.

The three orders had their respective unicoloured costumes,† emblematic of their several offices. The Privileged Bard wore a skyblue robe, indicative of peace,‡ of which he was professedly the advocate and herald. The dress of the Druid was white, as a mark of purity and holiness. And the Ovate wore green, the symbol of nature, the mysteries of which he particularly studied. The disciples wore a variegated dress of the three colours—blue, white, and green.§

In addition to such privileges as they enjoyed in their right as free-born Britons, they were entitled by virtue of their profession to the following immunities:—five free acres of land—exemption from personal attendance in war,—permission to pass unmolested from one district to another in time of war as well as peace,—support and maintenance wherever they went,—exemption from land-tax,—and a contribution from every plough in the district in which they were the authorised teachers.||

The Druids performed their religious rites within circles of unwrought stones,¶ in the most public and convenient situations. Their worship seems to have consisted chiefly in the

* Triad 233.

† "A Bard is known by his unicoloured garment; for truth is unicoloured."—*Triad of Bardism*, quoted in Dr. Pughe's Dict. *sub voc.* Barddgcwll.

‡ "This colour is also the emblem of peace amongst the *Nadoewesses*, a people west of the Mississippi, in America, as Captain Carver says."—*Bardism*, by W. Owen, p. xxv.

§ "Bardism," by W. Owen; and "The Patriarchal Religion of Britain," by Rev. D. James.

|| Myv. Arch. vol. iii.; Laws of Dyfnwal Moelnuad. Institutional Triads. James's "Patriarchal Religion." "Touching any of the priests Levites, singers, porters, Nethinims, or ministers of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose *toll*, *tribute*, or *custom*, upon them."—*Ezra*, vii. 24.

¶ Similar temples seem to have been in use among the early Jews; see Exod. xxiv. Deuter. xxvii. "Epiphanius says, that at Shechem, there was a temple, built by the Samaritans, of a circular form."—*Author of Identity*, &c.

offering of sacrifices and prayer, whilst the people observed strict silence. On these occasions the people were summoned together by the blowing of a horn, and their meetings were protected by the laws of the land.*

Besides the celebration of divine worship, there were held within the said enclosures regular conventions, for the purpose of "maintaining, preserving, and giving sound instruction in religion, science, and morality."†

These assemblies were held at the two solstices, and equinoxes; subordinate meetings might also be held at every new and full moon, and likewise at the quarter-days, which were chiefly for instructing disciples.‡ The ceremony observed at the opening of a meeting was the sheathing of a sword on the central stone, at which all the presiding Bards assisted, and this was accompanied by a short and pertinent address, commencing and concluding with the motto "TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD." The meeting was closed by taking up, but not unsheathing the sword, with a few words on the occasion. The Bards at these conventions always appeared bareheaded and barefooted in their unicoloured robes.§

At these meetings disciples were graduated, and such Bards as had been guilty of any crime were degraded, and the same could never afterwards be readmitted. It should be said that when a case of this kind came before the Bards, they departed from the usual mode of closing a convention, for they *covered* their heads, and one of them *unsheathed* the sword, and held it on high, and having named the guilty person aloud three times, proclaimed, "*The sword is naked against him.*"||

The influence of the Bards was very great, but they never

* Myv. Arch. vol. iii. ; Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud.

† Ibid.

‡ "Bardism," by W. Owen, p. xlv. E. Williams's Poems, vol. ii. pages 160, 220.

§ "Bardism," by W. Owen. "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." *Exod.* iii. 5.

|| Owen's Bardism.

used it except in subordination to that of the Prince or Chief of the tribe. They were always employed in embassies and negotiations, and so sacred were their persons, that if they presented themselves in their unicoloured robes between two armies on the point of battle, the soldiers instantly laid down their arms in accordance with the maxim, that "a naked weapon was never to be held in the presence of a Bard."*

The following is a summary of the leading articles of the Bardo-Druidic creed.

GOD.—There is but one supreme Being, the Creator and Governor of the universe, of an eternal, mysterious, and immaterial nature, which pervades all space. In him consists the plenitude of life, knowledge, power, and love, which are the sources of all his actions and dispensations. These being in themselves most beneficial and harmonious, necessarily tend to annihilate the power of evil, and bring man to everlasting happiness.†

THE ELEMENTS.—These are five in number, viz. earth, water, fire, air, and the heavens. Out of the first four comes every inanimate matter; and out of heaven God and all life, whilst from the conjunction of the five proceed all things.‡

THE SOUL.—The soul is a lapsed intelligence under a total privation of knowledge or happiness, by its falling to the lowest point of existence. It is, however, of the most refined nature, vital and imperishable, and is empowered to regain the state of intellect and felicity, by passing regularly through all the intermediate modes of being. When it quits one body for an-

* Myv. Arch. vol. iii; Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud. Institutional Triads. "But we shall not insist that it was the effect of the harmony of the lyres, or the flowing numbers, that calmed the fierce resentment struggling in their breasts, as Diodorus Siculus conceived; but it was in consequence of general laws of warfare, common in all ages." "Bardism," by W. Owen, p. xxvi.

† "Theological Triads," appended to E. Williams's Poems, vol. ii. p. 239. "Amongst the names of the DEITY, that are older than the introduction of Christianity, the following may be reckoned: Duw, Deon, Dovydd, Yr Hen Ddihenydd, Celi, Iôr, Peryv, Rhëen." (English: God, Distributor, Governor, the Ancient of Days, the Mysterious One, the Eternal, He that pervadeth all things, the Author of Existence.)—Owen's "Bardism," p. xxviii.

‡ Bardic Aphorism, quoted in Dr. Pughe's Dict. sub. voc. *Nev*.

other, it expands itself into that form and corporiety which its acquired propensities necessarily give it, or of that animal with whose body it becomes clothed, wherein only such propensities can possibly reside naturally.*

THE CREATION. — The earth was originally covered with water, which gradually subsiding, land animals arose of the lowest or least perfect species, thus corresponding in organization with the then capacity of the soul. New orders in the scale of being were successively produced from these, continually improving in form, and augmenting the capacity of intellect ; so that in the course of ages, man ultimately appeared the most perfect receptacle of the soul on earth.†

ANIMALS.—They originated in the lowest point of existence, the meanest water worm. Land animals are of a superior order, and rise in their various gradations up to man. As all modes of existence below humanity are necessarily evil, so no animal can pass to a lower state when it dies, but the divine benevolence has so ordained that it should rise higher ; and thus advancing upwards it arrives at humanity. Animals approach the state of humanity in proportion as they are gentle and harmless in their dispositions, and to hasten their progress towards happiness, divine benevolence so ordains it that these become more than any others liable to be destroyed untimely. But as man has no right to anticipate providence, he is not permitted to kill any animal, but which would either immediately or eventually kill him ; and it is by this law he must regulate himself when he deprives any being of life. We cannot kill an animal any more than a man, but as a prevention against or a punishment for killing.‡

* Mavor's Hist. Eng. vol. i. p. 9. E. Williams's Lyric Poems, vol. ii. p. 23. Theological Triads.

† Mavor, p. 9.

‡ W. Owen's "Bardism," p. lvi. E. Williams's Poems, vol. ii. p. 195. The writer, where he has not been so fortunate as to meet with the original traditions of the Bards, quotes, as near as may be, the very words of those who profess to have been in possession of them. These are William Owen (Dr. W. O. Pughe) F.A.S. the celebrated Welsh philologist and lexicographer, and Edward Williams, or, as he was called among the Bards, Iolo Morganwg, to whom Southey alludes in the following lines:—

MAN.—The last being that came into existence in this world was man. He appeared with the first rising sun; before that it was perpetual night. He is destined to fill a certain place in the creation, but at perfect liberty to act in such a character, or able to attach himself to either good or evil, as the impulse of his own inclinations shall lead him; accountable, rewardable, or punishable, for all he does. Humanity is therefore a state where good and evil are equally balanced that it becomes a state of liberty, and consequently of probation.*

PROVIDENCE.—God is benevolence in all his laws of nature; for he has so ordered that the arrival of every being at a state of bliss is by all possible means accelerated. Thus the vortex of universal warfare, in which the whole creation is involved, contributes to forward the victim of its rage to a higher state of existence. Even the malignancy of man is rendered subservient to the general and ultimate end of divine providence, which is to bring all animated beings to happiness.†

“Iolo, old Iolo, he who knows
The virtue of all herbs of mount, or vale,
Or greenwood shade, or quiet brooklet bed,
Whatever love of science, or of song,
Sages or bards of old have handed down.”—*Madoc*.

Both were regularly initiated into the mysteries of Bardism. William Owen, in his account of the system from which we quote, says, “It is from those traditions that the present sketch of bardism is formed, wherein is given the general scope of them; and which I have avoided drawing to such length as the materials would require to give a complete elucidation of them, as not necessary to the present purpose. With respect to the traditions themselves, as one of the order, I feel a propensity (a pardonable one, I hope) in common with a few remaining members, to preserve amongst ourselves undisclosed, except at a Gorsedd, those very curious remains, as an incitement to preserve the system.”—p. xxxiv. Edward Williams thus expresses himself respecting Bardism or Druidism: “It has never, as some imagine, been quite extinct in Britain; the Welsh Bards have, through all ages down to the present, kept it alive: there is, in my possession, a manuscript synopsis of it, by Llywelyn Sion, a Bard, written about the year 1560; its truth and accuracy are corroborated by innumerable notices, and allusions in our Bardic manuscripts of every age up to Taliesin in the sixth century.”—*Poems*, vol. ii. p. 194.

* Theological Triads. W. Owen’s “Bardism.” E. Williams’s *Poems*.

† W. Owen; E. Williams.

KNOWLEDGE.—No knowledge can be acquired but by experience. To obtain all possible knowledge, it is necessary to pass through all possible modes of existence, and to experience all that is peculiarly known to every one of these, each of them affording such a supply of knowledge that no other possibly can. Man in the states of happiness recovers the memory of all that he observed and experienced in every mode of existence through which he has passed.*

REVELATION.—All the knowledge that in the state of humanity we have of supernal existence has been communicated by celestial Beings, who, of their own benevolence, subject to that of the Deity, return for a while to this world to inform man of what is necessary for him to know of his duty, and of what constitutes happiness in this and in future states, and what by perseverance in virtue he may hope for and be assured of.†

PEACE.—There is a necessity of restoring, establishing, and preserving peace towards the happiness of mankind. Therefore the Bards give an example by refraining from bearing arms, and from all things that tend to set one party in opposition to another. The Bard amid the storms of the moral world must assume the serenity of the unclouded blue sky.‡

TRUTH.—Believe nothing without examination; but where reason and evidence will warrant the conclusion, believe every thing; and let prejudice be unknown. Search for truth on all occasions, and espouse it in opposition to the world.§

LIGHT.—Light is the emblem of purity and holiness, and the source of good, and that by which all truths should be illumined. Every act of the Bard must be done in the face of the sun, and in the eye of the light.||

* Theological Triads; W. Owen; E. Williams.

† E. Williams; W. Owen. "According to the bardic scheme, the prophets of Israel were of this description; for none could reveal heavenly things but those who had experienced them, and who, by returning to this world, made them known." W. O. "Bardism always refers its origin to *Divine communications*, and never talked of, I know not what, *Religion of nature*."—E. W.

‡ Institutional Triads; Ethical Triads; W. Owen.

§ Bardic Adages; W. Owen.

|| Ibid.

FORTITUDE.—Fortitude is the greatest of virtues, and includes all others. Man must brave all dangers rather than not act to his duty, for true valour never appears to so great advantage as in suffering unmoved, what cannot be avoided without transgressing the laws of justice and benevolence. Whoever subjects himself to death in the cause of these, does the most meritorious act of goodness that he possibly can, and thus, attaching himself to the highest degree of virtue and holiness, passes to the highest and ultimate state of celestial felicity.*

PRIDE.—Pride is that passion, by which man assumes more than the laws of nature allow him; for all men are equal, though differently stationed in the state of humanity for the common good. Whoever assumes such a superiority is an usurper, and he attaches himself thereby to evil in such a degree that his soul falls at death into the lowest point of existence.†

SACRIFICES.—Sacrifices must consist of those animals which are of the least ferocity of disposition, and this is a religious cooperation with divine benevolence in hastening them along that course which they must pass through before they can arrive at happiness. The death of criminals who surrender themselves voluntarily is also sacrificial, inasmuch as they do thereby all in their power to compensate for their crimes.‡

PUNISHMENTS.—Man, attaching himself to evil, falls in death into such an animal state of existence as corresponds with the turpitude of his soul. From this state he again by degrees rises higher and higher in the scale of existence, until he arrives at the state of humanity, from whence he may again fall. * Thus let him fall ever so often, he again returns, as the same road to happiness lies open to him, and will until he shall have no more need of it. Sooner or later he will infallibly arrive at his destined station of happiness, whence he never falls. Eternal misery is in itself impossible; it is inconsistent with the attributes of God, who is all-perfect benevolence.§

REWARDS.—If man, during the state of probation, attaches

* Ethical Triads; W. Owen; E. Williams. † Ibid. and Theological Triads.

‡ W. Owen; E. Williams.

§ Ibid. and Theological Triads.

himself to good, he passes in the instant of death into a higher state of existence, correspondent with his acquired goodness, and it is impossible to fall from thence. He will advance higher and higher in the scale of happiness and perfection, until he arrives at his final destination. But as no finite being can ever, consistently with happiness, endure the tedium of eternity, he will be relieved by undergoing the most delightful renovations in endless succession. These will not, like death, be dreaded, but be eagerly wished for, and approached with joy, neither will they destroy consciousness and memory, or there could be no such thing as endless life.*

THE FINAL STATE OF THE WORLD.—God will, sooner or later, by the progressive operations of his providence, destroy all the power of evil, and bring all animated beings into happiness. Nevertheless, all modes of existence will remain for ever externally the same, as beautiful varieties of the creation, and will be occupied successively by celestials, or those that inhabit the circle of felicity. They, amongst other changes, will thus vary and delightfully relieve what would otherwise be insupportable in eternity to finite beings. All these modes of existence will, when purged of their evils, be equally perfect, equally happy, equal in the general estimation, and equally fathered by the Creator: peace, love, and ineffable benignity, filling the whole creation. All mental and corporeal affections and propensities of benign tendency will remain for ever, and constitute the joys of the celestial existences.†

RULE OF DUTY.—Our infallible rule of duty is, not to do or desire anything but what can eternally be done and obtained in the celestial states, where no evil can exist. The good and happiness of one being must not arise from the evil or misery of another.‡

The foregoing tenets were for the most part delivered and perpetuated in the Triadic form, a mode of composition which the Bards and Druids were peculiarly fond of. The original Triads are extremely curious, and exhibit evident marks of

* Ibid.

† Theological Triads; E. Williams.

‡ E. Williams.

antiquity and genuineness. A translation of some is here subjoined :—

THEOLOGICAL TRIADS.*

1. There are three primeval Unities, and more than one of each cannot exist ; one God ; one truth ; and one point of liberty, and this is where all opposites equiponderate.

2. Three things proceed from the three primeval Unities ; all of life, all that is good, and all power.

3. God consists necessarily of three things ; the greatest of life, the greatest of knowledge, and the greatest of power, and of what is the greatest there can be no more than one of anything.

4. Three things it is impossible God should not be ; whatever perfect goodness should be, whatever perfect goodness would desire to be, and whatever perfect goodness can perform.

5. Three things evince what God has done and will do ; infinite power, infinite wisdom, and infinite love ; for there is nothing that these attributes want of power, of knowledge, or of will, to perform.

6. The three regulations of God towards giving existence to every thing ; to annihilate the power of evil, to assist all that is good, and to make discrimination manifest, that it might be known what should and what should not be.

7. Three things it is impossible that God should not perform ; what is most beneficial, what all want most, and what is most beautiful of all things.

* These Triads may be seen in the original and in its version, in E. W.'s Poems, vol. ii. p. 227. "I find," says the translator, "but very little assistance from the technology of modern (derived from the Grecian) metaphysics, in my attempts to render the language of Bardism into English, and have made no great use of it." Of the copy from which they are taken, he gives the following account. "The Triads that are here selected are from a manuscript collection, by Llywelyn Sion, a Bard of Glamorgan, about the year 1560. Of this manuscript I have a transcript ; the original is in the possession of Mr. Richard Bradford, of Bettws, near Bridgend, in Glamorgan. This collection was made from various manuscripts of considerable, and some say of very great antiquity—these, and their authors are mentioned, and most or all of them are still extant."

8. The three stabilities of existence ; what cannot be otherwise, what need not be otherwise, and what cannot be conceived better ; and in these will all things end.

9. Three things will infallibly be done ; all that is possible for the power, for the wisdom, and for the love of God to perform.

10. The three grand attributes of God ; infinite plenitude of life, of knowledge, and of power.

11. Three causes produced animate beings ; divine love, possessed of perfect knowledge ; divine wisdom, knowing all possible means ; and divine power, possessed by the joint will of divine love and wisdom.

12. There are three circles (or states) of existence ; the circle of infinity, where there is nothing but God, of living or dead, and none but God can traverse it ; the circle of inchoation,* where all things are by nature derived from death ; this circle has been traversed by man ; and the circle of felicity, where all things spring from life ; this man shall traverse in heaven.

13. Animated beings have three states of existence ; that of inchoation in the great deep (or lowest point of existence) ; that of liberty in the state of humanity ; and that of love, which is felicity in heaven.

14. All animated beings are subject to three necessities ; a beginning in the great deep (lowest point of existence), progression in the circle of inchoation, and plenitude in heaven, or the circle of felicity ; without these things nothing can possibly exist but God.

15. Three things are necessary in the circle of inchoation ; the least of all animation, and thence the beginning ; the materials of all things, and thence increase, which cannot take place in any other state ; the formation of all things out of the dead mass, hence discriminate individuality.

* Welsh, *Abred*. Davies, in his "Celtic Researches," thinks it probable that *Abaris*, the Hyperborean priest of Apollo, has some connection with the word and its meaning.—p. 186. Herod. L. iv. 36. The name of *Abaris* belongs to the *Cymry*. Ἀέροι—Κίμεροι, ὡς τινες φασι, Κίμμεριοι. *Steph. Byzant. De Urb.*

16. Three things cannot but exist towards all animated beings from the nature of divine justice; co-sufferance in the circle of inchoation, because without that none could attain the perfect knowledge of any thing; co-participation in the divine love; and co-ultimity from the nature of God's power, and its attributes of justice and mercy.

17. There are three necessary occasions of inchoation (metempsychosis); to collect the materials and properties of every nature; to collect the knowledge of every thing; and to collect power towards subduing the adverse, and devastative, and for the divestation of evil: without this traversing every mode of animated existence, no state of animation, or of any thing in nature, can attain to plenitude.

18. The three great or primary infelicities of the circle of inchoation; necessity, loss of memory, and death.

19. There are three principal indispensabilities (necessities) before plenitude of knowledge can be obtained; to traverse the circle of inchoation, to traverse the circle of felicity, and the recovered memory of all things down to the great deep.

20. Three things are indispensably connected with the state of inchoation: no subjection to injunctive laws, because it is impossible for any actions to be there otherwise than they are; the escape of death, from all evil and devastation; and the accumulation of life and good, by becoming divested of all evil in the escapes of death; and all through divine love embracing all things.

21. The three instrumentalities of God in the circle of inchoation towards subduing evil and devastation; necessity, loss of memory, and death.

22. There are three connates; man, liberty, and light.

23. The three necessary incidents of humanity; to suffer, to change, and to choose; and, man having the power of choosing, it is impossible before occurrence to foresee what his sufferings and changes will be.

24. The three equiportions of humanity; inchoation and felicity; necessity and liberty; evil and good; all equiponderate; man having the power of attaching himself to either the one or the other.

25. From three causes will the necessity of reinchoation fall

on man ; from not endeavouring to obtain knowledge ; from non-attachment to good ; and from attachment to evil ; occasioned by these things he will fall down to his connatural state in the circle of inchoation, whence, as at first, he returns to humanity.

26. For three things must man unavoidably fall into the circle of inchoation, though he has in everything else attached himself to good ; pride, for which he falls down to the utmost of the great deep, or lowest point of existence ; falsehood (untruth), to a state corresponding with his turpitude : and cruelty, into a corresponding state of brutal malignity, whence, as at first, he returns to the state of humanity.

27. Three things are primitival in the state of humanity ; the accumulations of knowledge, benevolence, and power, without undergoing dissolution (death). This cannot be done, as of liberty and choice, in any state previous to humanity ; these are called the three victories.

28. The three victories over evil and devastation are knowledge, love (benevolence), and power ; for these know how, have the will, and the power, in their conjunctive capacities, to effect all they can desire ; these begin, and are for ever continued, in the state of humanity.

29. The three privileges of the state of humanity ; equiponderance of evil and good, whence comparativity ; liberty of choice, whence judgment and preference ; and the origin of power, proceeding from judgment and preference ; these being indispensably prior to all other exertions.

30. In three things man unavoidably differs from God ; man is a finite, God is infinite ; man had a beginning, which God could not have ; man not being able to endure eternity, must have in the circle of felicity a rotatory change of his mode of existence ; God is under no such necessity, being able to endure all things, and that consistent with felicity.

31. Three things are primitival in the circle of felicity ; cessation of evil ; cessation of want, and the cessation of perishing.

32. The three restorations of the circle of felicity ; restoration of original genius and character ; restoration of all that was primevally beloved ; and the restoration of remembrance

from the origin of all things ; without these, perfect felicity cannot subsist.

33. Three things discriminate every animated being from all others ; original genius, peculiarity of remembrance, and peculiarity of perception ; each of these in its plenitude, and two plenitudes of any thing cannot exist.

34. With three things has God endued every animated being ; with all the plenitude of his own nature ; with individuality differing from that of all others ; and with an original and peculiar character and genius, which is that of no other being : hence in every being a plenitude of that self, differing from all others.

35. By the knowledge of three things will all evil and death be diminished and subdued ; their nature, their cause, and their operations ; this knowledge will be obtained in the circle of felicity.

36. The three stabilities of knowledge are :—to have traversed every state of animated existence ; to remember every state and its incidents ; and to be able to traverse all states of animation that can be desired, for the sake of experience and judgment ; this will be obtained in the circle of felicity.

37. The three peculiar distinctions of every being in the circle of felicity are ; vocation, privilege, and character (disposition) ; nor is it possible for any two beings to be uniformly the same in every thing ; for every one will possess plenitude of what constitutes his incommunicable distinction from all others ; and there can be no plenitude of any thing without having it in a degree that comprehends the whole of it that can exist.

38. Three things none but God can do ; to endure the eternities of the circle of infinity ; to participate of every state of existence without changing ; and to reform and renovate every thing without causing the loss of it.

39. Three things can never be annihilated from their unavoidable possibilities ; mode of existence ; essentials of existence ; and the utility of every mode of existence ; these will, divested of their evils, exist for ever, as varieties of the good and beautiful in the circle of felicity.

40. The three excellencies of changing mode of existence in

the circle of felicity ; acquisition of knowledge ; beautiful variety ; and repose, from not being able to endure uniform infinity and uninterrupted eternity.

41. Three things increase continually ; fire, or light ; understanding, or truth ; soul, or life ; these will prevail over every thing else, and then the state of inchoation will cease.

42. Three things dwindle away continually ; the dark, the false, and the dead.

43. Three things accumulate strength continually, there being a majority of desires towards them ; love, knowledge, and justice.

44. Three things become more and more enfeebled daily, there being a majority of desires in opposition to them ; hatred, injustice, and ignorance.

45. The three plenitudes of felicity ; participation of every nature with a plenitude of one predominant ; conformity to every cast of genius and character, possessing superior excellence in one ; the love of all beings and existences, but chiefly concentrated in one object, which is God : and in the predominant one of each of these will the plenitude of felicity consist.

46. The three necessary essentials of God ; infinite in himself ; finite to finite comprehensions ; and co-unity with every mode of existence in the circle of felicity.*

MORAL TRIADS.†

1. The three primary principles of wisdom ; obedience to the laws of God, concern for the welfare of mankind, and suffering with fortitude all the accidents of life.‡

2. The three great laws of man's actions ; what he forbids

* "These Triads have often an air of tautology, occasioned by this very circumscribed mode of dictating in short aphorisms that afford not room for sufficient explication, whence the necessity of resuming a subject in a second, third, or fourth Triad ; and, perhaps, oftener on some occasions." (E. W.)

† The note inserted in page 23, relative to the copy from which the Theological Triads were transcribed by E. W. applies equally to the Moral and Institutional Triads.

‡ Diogenes Laertius, who flourished early in the third century, has preserved this Triad in a perverted form. See page 40.

in another ; what he requires from another ; and what he cares not how it is done by another.

3. Three things well understood will give peace ; the tendencies of nature, the claims of justice, and the voice of truth.

4. There are three ways of searching the heart of man ; in the thing he is not aware of ; in the manner he is not aware of ; and at the time he is not aware of.

5. There are three things, and God will not love him that loves to look at them ; fighting, a monster, and the pomposity of pride.

6. Three things produce wisdom ; truth, consideration, and suffering.

7. The three great ends of knowledge ; duty, utility, and decorum.

8. There are three men that all ought to look upon with affection ; he that with affection looks at the face of the earth ; that is delighted with rational works of art ; and that looks lovingly on little infants.

9. Three men will not love their country : he that loves luxurious food, he that loves riches, and he that loves ease.

10. The three laughs of a fool ; at the good, at the bad, and at what he knows not what.

11. Three things corrupt the world : pride, superfluity, and indolence.

The preceding epitome presents the features of patriarchal truth sufficiently clear to establish original identity, yet it must be confessed that the outlines throughout are not equally definable. At what period the Bards first adopted their religious peculiarities it is difficult to determine. The fact of their existence, however, seems to militate against one fundamental theory of the system, for the Bards professedly adhered to, or departed from, their primary traditions according to the evidence that might be acquired from time to time in their search after truth. But this may be accounted for on the supposition that corruptions crept in when the art of oral tradition was not yet sufficiently adequate to guard the primitive religion against the tide of natural viciousness. It is not improbable, indeed, that

even before the dispersion of the Noachidæ, some religious truths were indistinctly known, or enigmatically expressed. Thus we are told that our first parents “heard the voice of the Lord God *walking* in the garden, in the cool of the day.”* That “*it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.*”† That “God *looked* upon the earth, and *behold* it was corrupt.”‡ Was not this propensity for allegorical teaching, that *evil imagination of the heart*,§ alluded to immediately after the flood? And is it not probable that a vague idea of the resurrection of the body entertained by the Japetidæ, was perverted into the doctrine of the metempsychosis by the Druids, who thus “became vain in their imaginations?” It was reserved for the Saviour of the world to bring “life and immortality to light through the Gospel.”

On the other hand, the just and correct views of the Druid-Bards relative to the science of morals, which is recoverable by the light of nature alone, clearly prove that in this respect, at least, they practically adhered to the maxim of free and impartial inquiry.

A Druid was required to be resident in every district, to “give moral and religious instruction in the convention of the Bards, in the palace, in the place of worship, and in every family, in which he had full privilege.”|| This was an admirable arrangement, and as it was only insisted upon in the case of the Druid, it shows the superior importance attached by the institution to the doctrines of religion and morality over every other branch of learning.

Nevertheless, our memorials point to eras and instances in which the civil arts and sciences were cultivated to an extent

* Gen. iii. 8.

† Gen. vi. 6.

‡ Verse 12. It would appear that the beginning of Genesis consists of transcripts of some of the compositions of the primitive ages, and that the above expressions are not exactly those of Moses. Thus, for instance, chapter V begins with an appropriate title which particularly indicates a distinct and independent composition. “This is the *book* (or record) of the generation of Adam.”

§ Gen. viii. 21.

|| Myv. Arch. v. iii. Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud.

that would not have degraded the best ages of Greece and Rome.

LETTERS.—Julius Cæsar writes with particular reference to the Gallie Druids:—"Nor do they deem it lawful to commit those things which pertain to their discipline to writing; though generally in other cases, and in their private and public accounts, they use Greek letters. They appear to me to have established this custom for two reasons;—because they would not have their secrets divulged, and because they would not have their disciples to depend upon written documents, and neglect the exercise of memory."*

This statement is conclusive as to the knowledge of letters among the continental Bards, but as these are said to have received their institute from Britain, it will apply more eminently to the sages of this country. Nor are we dependent on this inference alone: the following Law-triads of Dyvnwal Moel-mud satisfactorily decide the question.

"There are three duties incumbent upon the teachers of the country and the tribe, being learned men:

1. To impart instruction, etc.
2. To keep an authentic record, respecting privileges, customs, families, pedigrees of nobility by honourable marriages, heroic actions, and everything of superior excellence of country and clan, that is performed in the court and in the sacred place, in peace and in war.
3. They are to be ready, at every appointed time and place, to give instruction, advice, and information on sacred subjects, by *reciting the authentic records*, and by *writing down* what is given by judgment and custom, in a *proper book* of records. More than this is not to be required of the instructors of the country who are men of *reading* and *writing*, and of scientific reflection and wisdom, lest it should render them unable to perform their duty as regularly inducted teachers."

"There are three distinguished literary characters:

1. He that has an acquaintance with literature, and can *write and read the Cimbric language correctly*, impart instruction res-

* De Bell. Gall. L. vi. 14.

pecting them, and keep a *written record* of the three subjects of record of the Bards of the Isle of Britain; and these are pedigrees of nobility by marriages, inheritances, and heroic actions.....”*

The knowledge of letters, and the sciences dependent thereon, was an indispensable qualification for admission to the degree of Ovate.†

The characters used by our British ancestors have been transmitted through the same channel that we have received other Bardic traditions. The original alphabet is said to have consisted of sixteen letters, all of which are radical; the rest are mutations of them, formed and added thereto at subsequent periods.‡ The whole series amounts to forty, which are here arranged in their due order, with the power of each letter, and the names of the radicals.

VOWELS.

Characters.—	Λ	Λ	∫	∫		Y	Y	Y	◇	◇	V	V
Power.—	a	â	e	ê	i	u	û	y	o	ô	w	â
Radicals.—	1		2		3				4			

CONSONANTS.

Characters.—	∟	∟	∟	W	W	∟	∟	∟	∟	∟	∟	∟	∟
Power.—	b	v	m	m	v	p	ph	mh	f	c	ch	ngh	g
Name.—	bi			mi		pi			fi	ci			gi
Radicals.—	5			6		7			8	9			10

Characters.—	∟	∟	∟	>	▷	▷	∟	∟	∟	∟	∟	∟	∟
Power.—	t	th	nh	d	dh	n	n	l	ll	r	rh	s	h
Name.—	ti			di			ni	li		ri		is	
Radicals.—	11			12			13	14		15		16	

It is not a little remarkable, that the above comprise, with four or five exceptions, all the old Etruscan or Pelasgic letters, which were probably but little different from the Greek characters used in the time of Cæsar.§

* Myv. Arch. v. iii, Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud.

† “Bardism,” by W. Owen, p. xl.

‡ Some of them were invented after the introduction of Christianity.

§ W. Owen’s “Bardism.”

The ancient Britons used to cut their letters upon sticks* or staves, which were either squared, or formed into three sides. Several of these sticks were joined in a frame, called Peithynen (*elucidator*), and sometimes Coelbren (*a token stick*), by which latter term the alphabet was also generally designated.

Sometimes they graved their letters on a slate with an iron style or a flint stone, and this slate they denominated Coelvain (*a token stone*). They also coloured them on wood.†

The Bards assign a period of the remotest antiquity to the origin of letters. Indeed it is evident, from the general affinity which exists amongst all the ancient alphabets of Europe, that they are derived from one common source, which must have sprung in the east before the separation of families.

We may learn from the Triads quoted above, what the British Bards committed chiefly to writing. Other facts in general, and particularly what related to their system, they promulgated and transmitted orally in prose, as well as in verse.

PROSE.—With a view to assist the memory, art was bestowed even on prosaic forms of composition. The most common species was the Triad, of which we have given several specimens. It will appear on examination, that there is a striking resemblance between each of its three component parts, and one grand or leading idea centred in the whole, by which these parts are bound up, and kept inseparably together.‡

* Writing on sticks is alluded to in Ezekiel xxxvii. 16-20: "Son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions: then take another stick, and write upon it For Joseph," &c. Also, Numbers xvii. 2. "Take of every one of them a rod—write thou every man's name upon his rod."

† See an excellent essay on the Bardic Alphabet, by Taliesin Williams, son of the late E. Williams (Iolo Morganwg) in which its genuineness is most satisfactorily established.

‡ A few specimens are to be found in ancient authors. Mela, L. iii. c. 2. has preserved one of them.

"Unum ex iis quæ præcipiunt in vulgus effluxit; videlicet—
Ut forent ad bella meliores;
Æternas esse animas,
Vitamque alteram ad manes."

Diog. Laertius presents us with another; see page 40. Ausonius, who respected, and seems occasionally to imitate, the Bards of his country, has a whole poem of Triads. (Celtic Researches, p. 150.)

POETRY.—The Bards divided their canons of versification, or metricities, into nine *Gorchanau*, elements of song, or primary principles, and fifteen *Allawiaid*, secondary, or compound principles, making in all twenty-four, to which all possible varieties and combinations of metres in any language are reducible.* The most ancient stanza on record is that usually designated the “Warrior’s Triplet,” which consists of three lines rhyming in the last syllable. The Poetical Institutes of the Bards thus argue respecting its originality: “The most simple of all the stanzas is the ‘Warrior’s Triplet,’ for it has simplicity of verse, rhyme, and stanza; as the first of stanzas was the triplet, and the first kind of rhyme was unirhythm. Therefore it is judged, that of all the various stanzas, the ‘Warrior’s Triplet’ is the most venerable, for so is the first of all things; and of stanzas, the ‘Warrior’s Triplet’ is the most original.”† In another place it is regarded as one of the metres which were “from time immemorial, that is, from the age of ages.”‡

MUSIC.—The science of music formed an essential part of the Bardic profession. The principal instrument used was the harp. It was played by the Privileged Bard, and a perfect skill in the performance was considered a necessary qualification for the office.§

ASTRONOMY.—It is acknowledged by authors in general, that the Druids professed astronomy. The British Triads record the names of three who distinguished themselves in the science, two of whom flourished before the era of Christianity. “The three sublime astronomers|| of the isle of Britain,—Idris Gawr,

* “This system of versification is no modern thing; for we have it in manuscripts of five hundred years’ standing; it was completed, and received its highest and ultimate polish, when every other European language, now living, was yet in the dark womb of barbarity.” (E. Williams’s *Poems*, vol. ii p. 226.)

† Quoted in W. Owen’s “Account of Llywarch Hen,” prefixed to his “Heroic Elegies,” page xix.

‡ “Metres from time immemorial are primary canons, the warrior’s triplet, and recitative, judged to be; that is, they were from the age of ages.” Bardic Aphorism, quoted in Dr. Pughe’s *Dict. voce Triban*.

§ James’s “Patriarchal Religion,” p. 74-76; Davies’s “Celtic Researches,” p. 191.

|| Welsh, *Seronyddion*, hence probably the *Saronides* of the ancients.

Gwdion the son of Don, and Gwyn the son of Nudd. So great was their knowledge of the stars, and of their nature and situation, that they could foretell whatever might be desired to be known, to the day of doom.* The memory of the first is perpetuated by one of the highest and most pointed mountains in North Wales, called Cadair Idris (*the Chair of Idris*). The second has likewise imparted his name to the Galaxy, which is hence commonly styled *Caer Gwdion* in the Welsh language.

Some have thought that the ancient British astronomers had invented instruments which answered the purpose of our telescope, from its being said by Diodorus Siculus, that in the Hyperborean island (supposed to be Britain),† the moon was seen as if it was but a small distance from the earth, and having hills and mountains on its surface. Nor is this hypothesis unsupported by the Triads, which mention Drych ab Cibddar, or Cilidawr, that is, the *speculum* of the *son of pervading glance*, or *the searcher of mystery*, as one of the secrets of the Isle of Britain.‡ It is also supposed that they were acquainted with the cycle of nineteen years, called the cycle of the moon, from its being observed by the same writer, Diodorus Siculus, that the Hyperboreans thought that Apollo descended into their island at the end of every nineteen years, when the sun and moon having performed their respective revolutions, return to the same point, and begin to perform the same again.§ Pliny has moreover asserted, that the Druids had also a cycle or period of thirty years, which they called an age; and which probably was the same with the great year of the Pythagoreans, or revolution of Saturn. Some antiquarians, indeed, profess to discover the emblems of three different cycles even in the structure of the Bardo-Druidic temple.

MECHANICS.—We are furnished with the names of two celebrated mechanicians who lived prior to the Christian era;—“Corvinwr the Bard of Ceri Hir Lyngwyn, who first made a

* Myf. Arch. v. ii. Triad 89.

† For evidences in favour of this identity, see “Celtic Researches,” page 176. &c.

‡ Myv. Arch. vol. ii.

§ Diod. Sicul. L. ii. c. 47.

ship, sail, and helm for the Cymry, and Morddal Gwr Gweilgi, mason to Ceraint ab Greidiawl, who first taught the Cymry to work with stone and mortar, about the time when Alexander was subduing the world.”* The remains of the numerous Druidical circles throughout the land, are standing monuments of the skill of our ancestors in mechanics, and probably of their proficiency in the science of astronomy.

AGRICULTURE.—That the ancient Britons were not inattentive to the cultivation of the soil, is proved by the statements of the Greek merchantmen who traded with the island, about 500 years before Christ. According to them, this country abounded with provisions of every kind, so that they emphatically called it the “Land of Ceres.”† The Triads represent Hu Gadarn as being the “first who instructed the Cymry in the way of ploughing land;” and Coll, the son of Collvrewi, as the “first who introduced wheat and barley into the island, where there were till then only rye and oats.”‡

COMMERCE.—Sammes, in his “Antiquities of Ancient Britain derived from the Phœnicians,” says, that those celebrated mercantile people discovered the British Isles about the time of the Trojan war. At that period the inhabitants were working the tin, lead, and copper mines, in the south, to such an extent, as to supply every mart on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea.§ About six or seven centuries later, that is, about 500 years before Christ, the Greeks became acquainted with the source of these articles, and traded in them with the natives.||

MEDICINE.—It was the peculiar province of the Ovate to study the productions of nature, with a view to ascertain and apply their medicinal qualities. Among other plants the mistletoe was considered particularly medicinal, and hence was frequently

* Myv. Arch. vol. ii. 91.

† James’s Patriarchal Religion, p. 21.

‡ Triad 56.

§ The prophet Ezekiel most probably alludes to the produce of this country as being carried home by the merchants of Tyre, about six hundred years before the birth of Christ. “With silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs.”—Ezekiel xxvii. 12.

|| James’s Pat. Rel. p. 20.

called by the ancient Britons Oll-iach (all heal). Its gathering was attended with great solemnity. The Druid, or priest, ascended the tree on which it grew in his sacerdotal robes, and with a golden hook cut off the shrub, which was received in a white sheet spread for that purpose underneath.*

POLITICS.—The first stone of the political edifice of Britain was laid by Hu Gadarn, who “first collected the race of the Cymry, and disposed them into tribes.”† After the arrival of the Lloegrians and Brython, Prydain “established a jury over the Isle of Britain,” and consolidated the several states under a general union, to be governed by a Cimbric monarch. Dyvnwal Moelmud in a subsequent age “systemized the laws and ordinances, and privileges of the country and nation.”‡ His code is still extant.§

The ancient British laws were founded on the customs of the country, and were enacted in a convention of the several states. These states were governed by their respective chiefs, who were

* James's Pat. Rel. p. 86; Pliny. † Triad 57. ‡ Ibid.

§ Whoever will duly examine this code, which is inserted in the third volume of the Myvyrian Archæology, will find that it contains strong internal evidence of its own genuineness. It contemplates a state of things incompatible with what Britain exhibited subsequently to the arrival and settlement of the Coritanians, Belgæ, and Romans. It refers to the incorporation of the Bardic College, and the practical influence, liberties, and privileges of its members. It contains no allusion to Christianity, but all along recognises the Druid as the authorised minister and teacher of religion. In one instance, indeed, there is a reference to Christian practices, but from the manner it is introduced, as well as the very late period to which it partly alludes, there can be no doubt of its being an interpolation. It is said that Dyvnwal's laws were translated by Gildas into Latin, and also those of Marcia, the wife of Cyhylin (the third from Dyvnwal) and that this translation was communicated to Alfred the Great by Asserius, Bishop of St. David's: and that Alfred translated these laws from Gildas's Latin into Saxon, and called the code, the *Merchenlage*. (Rom. Hist. lib. i. p. 202 of Gale.) Caradoc of Llancarvan, in the twelfth century, says that Hywel Dda went to Rome, A. D. 926, “to obtain a knowledge of the laws of other kingdoms and cities, and the laws that the Roman emperors put in force in the island of Britain, during their sovereignty.—That, after a careful research respecting every country and city, *the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud were found superior to the whole, and, moreover, in concurrence with the law of God.*” (Myv. Arch. v. ii.) This is another testimony to the excellent principles and tendency of ancient Bardism.

nevertheless subordinate to the supreme monarch. His exclusive authority seems to have consisted in the power of confirming laws, of levying the whole force of the kingdom in case of invasion, and punishing the reguli for any infraction of the general ordinances. The sovereignty was hereditary, and confined to the race of the Cymry. Sometimes, however, in cases of emergency, the different states conventionally elected a sovereign, who possessed the requisite qualifications for meeting the public danger; and such a general, at the head of the combined forces, they styled Pendragon.

Thus it appears that our British ancestors, instead of being a nation of barbarians and savages, as they are too commonly represented, were really an enlightened people, far advanced in civilization and intellectual improvement. A knowledge of the useful arts was not, any more than theology, confined exclusively to the Bardic college. Though the territorial or parochial system was necessarily applied to none of the orders but the Druid, or religious functionary, yet ample provision was made for the general diffusion of the historical and philosophical maxims more particularly professed by the privileged Bard and Ovate. All men were freely invited to attend their conventions, which were always held in the open air, on a conspicuous place, whilst the sun was above the horizon; and at these meetings their traditions were publicly recited.* So averse, indeed, were the Bards to secrecy, that it was to be observed only when peace and the public welfare demanded it, and in that case it was regarded "a necessary but *reluctant* duty."

Some of the Greek and Latin writers give the Druids credit for deep and extensive acquaintance with the arts and sciences, but they paint their religion for the most part in dark and horrid colours. In anticipation of an objection which this circumstance will naturally raise, we beg to remind our readers that the remarks of classical authors are almost exclusively confined to that form which prevailed on the Continent. The extent of

* "These were so far from being any thing like ænigmatical or obscure, as some have supposed, that they were just the reverse; and there is hardly such a thing even as a figurative expression to be found in any of the traditions."—*W. Owen's Bardism*, p. xxxiv.

his conquests would afford to Julius Cæsar, more perhaps than to any of the other writers, opportunities of making himself acquainted with the character and customs of Druidism, hence he is considered by far the best authority on the subject. His statement as to the common origin of the Gallic and British systems, and the practice adopted by some of the youths of Gaul, in his time, of coming over to Britain for the purpose of being educated in the maxims of the institution, has led modern historians in general to consider his gloomy description of the continental religion as equally applicable to British Druidism. But has it been duly considered that his testimony necessarily makes a difference between the two branches?

“*Disciplina in Britannîâ reperta, atque in Galliam translata esse, existimatur; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi causâ, proficiscuntur.*”*

It is evident from these words, not only that the parent institution was more perfect in matters of detail, but that the Gallic system was even destitute of fundamental and fixed principles. It placed no confidence in its own regulations. It possessed not in itself the seed of propagation.

The Institutional Triads of the British Bards are in perfect accordance with this view of the subject.

“For three reasons are the Bards titled Bards according to the rights and institutes of the Bards of the Isle of Britain; first, because *Bardism originated in Britain*; secondly, because *pure Bardism was never well understood in any other country*; thirdly, because *pure Bardism can never be preserved and continued but by means of the institutes and voice conventional of the Bards of the Isle of Britain*; for this reason, of whatever country they may be, they are titled Bards according to the rights and institutes of the Bards of the Isle of Britain.”

“Three nations *corrupted* what was taught them of the British Bardism, blending with it heterogeneous principles, by which means they *lost it*; the Irish, the Letavian Cymry,† and the Germans.”‡

* De Bell. Gall. vi. 13.

† The Bretons of France. ‡ Institutional Triads; E. W. Poems, ii. 230.

A system, the principles of which are imperfectly understood, readily succumbs to the dictates of depraved nature, and partakes of the character of besetting degeneracy. Hence it is not difficult to conceive how the Gauls would engraft the mythology of the Massilian Greeks on exotic Druidism, or how the Irish would associate with the sun and fire worship of the Phœnicians the Bardic doctrine of light, and its attendant rites.

The plain aphorisms of the British Institution were wrested into a correspondence with the prevailing opinions of the day. Thus the following Triad, preserved by Diogenes Laertius, exhibits a deep tincture of Grecian Polytheism :—

Σέβειν Θεοὺς
Καὶ μὴδὲν κακὸν ἔργον
Καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν.

To worship the *gods*,
To do no evil,
And to exercise fortitude.

The original of this Triad is still on record, and runs thus :—
“Tri chynnorion Doethineb; uvuddhad i ddeddvau Duw, ymgais a lles dyn, a dioddev yn lew pob digwydd bywyd.”*

“The three primary principles of wisdom; obedience to the laws of GOD, concern for the welfare of mankind, and suffering with fortitude all the accidents of life.”

Nor ought we to be astonished that polytheism and idolatry should have been tolerated in the Gallic Institution by those who had learned a different and purer doctrine in the British schools, when we duly reflect how widely Roman Catholics of the present day, notwithstanding their constant appeal to antiquity, have departed from the faith and practice of the primitive Church.

After all, there are reasons to suppose, that the Druidical doctrines taught to the continental youths in Britain were spurious. Genuine Bardism, in the time of Julius Cæsar, was confined to the primary colony in the western parts of the island, as shall appear in the sequel.

* Ethical Triads; E. Williams's Poems, ii. 248.

We have already seen that the Cymry bestowed early and particular attention on the art of oral tradition. It is to this that we mainly attribute the perpetuation of their Bardic system in such comparative purity. Besides that its tenets were embodied in poems and adages, of a structure which in itself almost defied perversion, they were also recited annually at one or other of the four grand meetings or conventions. Every new doctrine was likewise laid before their meetings, where it underwent the most severe scrutiny. If admitted at the first, it was reconsidered at the second; if then approved of, it was referred to the third meeting, and being approved of by that, it was ratified or confirmed; otherwise it was referred to the Triennial Supreme Convention for ultimate consideration.* It appears, from the law Triads,† that even in that case it was necessary to have “the consent of the country, the neighbouring country, and particularly the tribe.” These measures precluded the possibility of perversion or interpolation taking place without being detected.

The amount of national veneration for rites and customs, independently of their own intrinsic value and practical usefulness, is generally proportionable to their antiquity and the relation of their source. It was accordingly more natural for the Cymry to endeavour to preserve the integrity of the Bardic system, which they had been taught to regard as indigenous, and of an origin coincident with their first arrival in the island, than for the subsequent colonies of the Lloegrians and Brython, who had received it from them. These, nevertheless, as long as they were ignorant of any other system, would, and doubtlessly did, conform to the established usages of the land. Hence it is highly probable, that Bardism attained its meridian prevalence whilst these first colonies continued free from the obtrusion and intercourse of strangers, and acknowledged the same civil authority. Some of the principles and practices of the Phœnician and Greek traders were no doubt adopted by a portion of the southern inhabitants, and in course of time more or less

* E. Williams's Poems; W. Owen's "Bardism."

† Myv. Arch. Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud.

affected their religious teachers. Yet, as their rites and precepts were subject to the cognizance of the national Gorsedd, they could not very widely err without incurring degradation, and consequently forfeiting the protection of government. The greatest occasion for the dissemination of false notions would be afforded by the violation and breaking up of the ancient constitution, in consequence of the invasions and permanent settlement of foreigners. The Triads record several of these before the Roman descent, the first of which is supposed to have taken place about 200 years before the Christian era.

“There were three refuge-seeking tribes that came to the Isle of Britain; and they came under the peace and permission of the nation of the Cymry, without arms, and without opposition.

“The first was the tribe of the Celyddon (*Caledonians*), in the north.

“The second was the Gwyddyl (*Irish*) tribe, who dwelt in Alban.

“The third were the people of Galedin, who came in naked vessels to the Isle of Wight, when their country was drowned, and where they had lands granted them by the nation of the Cymry. They had no privilege of claim in the Isle of Britain, but they had land and protection assigned them under certain limitations; and it was stipulated that they should not possess the rank of native Cymry until the ninth of their lineal descendants.”*

“There were three invading tribes that came to the Isle of Britain, and never went out of it.

“The first were the Coranians, that came from the country of Pwyl.†

“The second were the Gwyddyl Fichti (*Irish Picts*), who came to Alban, by the sea of Llychlyn.‡

“The third, &c.

* Myv. Arch. vol. ii.

† Some think that *Poland* is meant, whilst others take it for *Holland*. Another Triad fixes the time of the Coranian invasion in the age of Lludd, the son of Beli, and Brother of Caswallon (Cassivellaunus.)

‡ The Baltic Sea.

"The Coranians settled about the river Humber, and the shore of the sea of Tawch; and the Gwddyl Fiehti in Alban, about the shore of the Llychlyn Sea."*

"There were three invading tribes that came to the Isle of Britain and went out of it.

"The first were the Llychlynians,† who came here after Urb Lhyddawg had taken the flower of the nation of the Cymry, in number 63,000 men of war and cavalry, from the island. But at the end of the third age the Cymry drove the Llychlynians over the sea into the country of Almaen (*Germany*).

"The second were the troops of Ganval Wyddel (*the Irishman*), who came to Gwynedd (*Venedotia, or North Wales*), and were there twenty-nine years, until they were driven into the sea by Caswallon, the son of Beli, the son of Mynogan."‡

To these we must add the Belgæ,§ not mentioned by the Triads, who spread themselves along the southern coasts of the island, and finally settled in Ireland, under the name of Firlbogs.

As the annals of nations record the profession of no Gentile religion purer than British Druidism, we presume, without entering into an examination of their nature and form, that the several worships, introduced by the tribes enumerated above, partook also of the general inferiority. The arrival of the "refuge-seeking tribes" was not in itself calculated to do violence to any of the leading maxims of Bardism; nor is it probable, as long as their settlement was distinct, and their authority restricted, that their doctrines spread to any considerable extent out of their own pale.

The intrusion of the "invading tribes" was attended with serious consequences. The regulators of the public morals, in whose presence on ordinary occasions no hostile weapon was to be held, were now necessitated to sacrifice temporary peace at the shrine of justice and patriotism, in conformity with the following maxim:—

* "Myv. Arch. vol. ii. † The Scandinavians. ‡ Myv. Arch. vol. ii.

§ "Maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ, ex Belgis transierant." (De Bell. Gall. v. 12.) See, also, Dr. W. O. Pughe's Dic. in voc. *Belgiad*.

“ The three necessary but reluctant duties of the Bards of the Isle of Britain ; secrecy for the sake of peace and public good, invective lamentation required by justice, and the unshèathing of the sword against lawlessness and depredation.”

The extermination of the native hierarchy, as the main spring of patriotic opposition, would be the principal aim of these hostile clans. Hence the more stubborn and orthodox Druids would perish at their posts ; some would retire out of the reach of their persecutors ; some would act on the former clause of the Triad, and either observe total silence, or else veil their instructions in mystic allegories ; whilst others, of a more easy disposition, would compromise with the enemy, and incorporate in their creed many of his wilder theories. Thus the people who had amalgamated with their conquerors, and those on their immediate borders, being deprived of the plain and public instructions of their legitimate and genuine teachers, would gradually and extensively become tainted with the predominant superstitions, to the great detriment of the national character. It appears from the Triads, and other authorities, that about the period of the Roman invasion, all the island except Cymru, was more or less overrun or intermixed with strangers, and consequently infected by their religious notions.* Cymru then comprehended the south of Scotland, the northern parts of England, Wales, and Cornwall, and parts of the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and the whole of Cheshire and Lancashire. It was thus into the bosom of its primitive nation, with whom it originated, and for whom it was calculated, that the pure order of the Druids withdrew itself. But even here the exercise of its functions was not altogether free from interruption, for we have seen that North Wales was invaded and temporarily inhabited by a band of Irish, and it was probably molested also by the Belgæ, on their passage to Ireland. The ancient throne was, however, in existence in that part of Wales formerly denominated Siluria, and though its

* It would seem, notwithstanding the predominance of their religious superstitions, that these foreign settlers had, in some measure, conformed to the civil customs of the Aborigines, at the time of the Roman invasion.

practical authority was curtailed, yet it was genuine and vigorous, and laid claim to all its primitive rights and privileges. Under its protection also flourished Bardism in its native integrity. The correctness of this hypothesis is attested by the unanimous voice of our traditionary documents; and it is remarkable that all those which relate to the doctrine and institutes of the primitive system are invariably written in the Silurian dialect.

It is a historical fact which shall be hereafter established, that the "Bards of the Isle of Britain" have continued in an unbroken succession down to the present day. When the Cymry lost their national independence by the fall of the last Llywelyn, the Bards were not only deprived of patronage, but were even awed by the terror of a cruel persecution. They were consequently obliged to be circumspect, and to avoid the regular open Gorsedd, or Convention. This must have endangered the traditions and learning of the institution, therefore such of the Bards as were anxious for their preservation began to make collections of them in books. With a view to consolidate those collections, several Gorseddau were held, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, under the sanction of Sir Richard Neville, and others. One was held for that purpose in 1570, under the auspices of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the great patron of Welsh literature. What was done at those meetings received considerable improvements at one held by Sir Edward Lewis, of the Van, about the year 1580, from the arrangement of Llywelyn of Langewydd; and, lastly, a complete revisal of all the former collections was made by Edward Davydd of Margam, which received the sanction of a Gorsedd held at Bewpyr, in the year 1681, under the authority of Sir Richard Basset. This collection was pronounced to be in every respect the fullest illustration of Bardism.*

The traditions collected and sanctioned at these conventions, supply the principal materials from which the foregoing account of Bardism has been formed. From the singularity of their form and contents, as well as the systematic manner in which

* "Bardism," by William Owen, p. lxi.

they were perpetuated, they are entitled to our respect and credit in a much higher degree than those popular legends, which, in their unheeded course, become necessarily incrustated with fabulous matter.*

But the practical continuation of the system carries this difficulty in its train. It has been said, that the Bards adhered to, or departed from their original traditions, only according to the evidence that might be acquired from time to time in their search after truth; how, therefore, can we be sure that the representation given is applicable to the times preceding Christianity?

It must be here observed, that the Historical Triads and the ancient laws of the Britons were not affected by this principle, and consequently, admitting their authenticity and genuineness, we have sufficient evidence of the antiquity of those customs, rites, and tenets, which are supported by them. The claims of many of the aphorisms, of which use has been made in the present sketch, must be subjected to the same, or similar tests, as those of the documents just mentioned. They have been adopted by the writer under a firm persuasion of their antiquity.

It is historically proved that the Christian Bards practically abandoned or reformed what appeared to them inimical to, or inconsistent with, the profession of the Gospel, but at the same time that they carefully preserved among themselves the original dogmas of their system, as curious relics of antiquity. They seem to have added a maxim to their code which would enforce or promote the observance of the latter custom:—

“Three things which a BARD ought to maintain,—the Welsh language, the *primitive Bardism*, and the memorial of every thing good and excellent.”†

* “Nothing can more evince the fidelity of Bardic Tradition, than that the Romance of Geoffrey of Monmouth is never once noticed in any Bardic Poem or Aphorism, and of each there are extant in ancient manuscripts perhaps a thousand; it is so late as the fourteenth century, and the latter end of it, before anything of the story of Brutus appears in the writings of any Welsh Poet, and every poet was not a bard.” (E. Williams’s *Poems*, ii. 222.)

† Quoted by Dr. W. O. Pughe in “An outline of the Characteristics of the Welsh, &c.” appended to his Dictionary.

Among the remnants of primitive Bardism would be the Druidical Theology. That the Triads we inserted were not modified by the Bards, so as to square with their Christian views, is evident from the fact, that they exhibit doctrines palpably at variance with what is to be found in their evangelical poems. We need only instance Taliesin, who flourished in the sixth century, and who of all others, is supposed to have approximated nearest the Druidical doctrine of the metempsychosis. His Christian belief is thus expressed :—

“Multitudes there were in the confused course
Of hell, a cold refuge,
During the five ages of the world,
Until Christ released them from the bondage
Of the immensely deep abyss of *abred* ;—*
All those has God taken under his protection.”

This is widely distant from the Triadic doctrine, which teaches the transmigration of the soul through different animal bodies. Yet that very doctrine is also implied in some of his less Christian poems. This circumstance, which applies equally to other Christian Bards, clearly proves that they were in possession of dogmas at variance with their Christian profession. We have, therefore, sufficient reason to believe that the religious articles we have inserted in this sketch accurately represent the creed of the ancient Druids.

* It will be recollected that *abred*, in the Theological Triads, was rendered into English by the term *inchoation*.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF THE CYMRY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

“It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.”
—ISAIAH xlix. 6.

WE are not apprised, and have no reason to conjecture, that Julius Cæsar, on his arrival in Britain, saw the Cymry. The armies that opposed him consisted of Coranians, Belgæ, and some of the Lloegrians and Brython, who had amalgamated with them on the eastern coast. It was not until the reign of Claudius, that the subjugation of the aborigines was really and earnestly attempted. True it is that Venedotia, or North Wales, had suffered severely from the wild incursion of Ganval Wyddel: its creed had been adulterated, and the national spirit in some degree subdued. Nevertheless, upon the Silures of South Wales had no impression been yet made. “*Silurum gens*,” says Tacitus, “*non atrocitate, non clementiâ mutabatur*.”* Among this people the ancient rights and prerogatives of sovereignty were uncompromisingly asserted, and the doctrines and rites of primitive bardism duly enforced. When Claudius sent his legions into Britain, Caradog (Caractacus), prince of

* Tac. *Julii Agric. vita*, cap. xviii. He mentions them also as “*validamque et pugnaem Silurum gentem*.”

Siluria, was elected in a national convention to the supreme command of the native forces.* “All the Britons,” observes the Triad, “from king to vassal, enlisted under his banner, at the call of the country, against foe and depredation.”†

For nine years did Caradog defy the whole power of his adversaries. The last battle he fought was in the land of the Ordovices. As if conscious that the fate of his country depended on the issue of that single engagement, he seems to have exerted himself more than usually to inspire his men with courage and resolution. “This is the day,” he harangued them, “and this is the battle, which will prove the beginning either of recovered liberty or of endless slavery.”‡ How inscrutable are the ways of providence! Though the Britons were defeated, the event was to them truly the commencement of “recovered liberty,” even “the glorious liberty of the children of God.” Some of Caradog’s family were taken prisoners on the field of slaughter, whilst he himself, having fled for protection to Aregwedd Voeddawg§ (Cartismandua), queen

* “The three jury monarchs of the Isle of Britain; the first, Caswallon, son of Lludd, son of Beli, son of Mynogan; second, *Caradog, son of Bran, son of Llyr Llediaith*; third, Owain, son of Maxen Wledig; that is to say, through the juratory election of the country and nation was the monarchy given them, when they were not elders.”—*Triad* 17.

“The three conventional monarchs of the Isle of Britain: the first, &c.; the second, *Caradog, the son of Bran*, when he was invested with the martial sovereignty of all the Isle of Britain, that he might oppose the invasion of the Romans. . . . They were called the three conventional monarchs, because they were so privileged in a convention of the country and neighbouring country, under all the limits of the nation of the Cymry, and a convention was held in every dominion, and commot, and hundred of the Isle of Britain, and its adjacent islands.”—*Tr.* 34.

“Ut ceteros Britanorum imperatores præmineret.”—Tac. Annal. lib. xii.

“Pluribus gentibus imperitaute.”—Caractacus’s Speech, *Ibid.*

† *Triad*, 41.

‡ Tac. Annal. lib. xii.

§ She was the daughter of Avarwy, who, in consequence of a quarrel with his uncle Caswallon (Cassivelaunus), betrayed his country, and was hence ranked in a Triad with Gwrtheyrn and Medrawd, as “the three noted traitors of the Isle of Britain.” The act of Aregwedd is recorded as one of “the three secret treasons of the Isle of Britain.” Independently of hereditary prejudice, her conduct in betraying Caradog is accounted for by the fact of her being related to the Romans by marriage.

of the Brigantes, was by her basely betrayed into the hands of Ostorius Scapula, who sent him in triumph to Rome.

The fame of the conquered Briton had extended throughout the Roman empire, and great was the concourse of people who had assembled in the city to view him who had so long and gallantly braved the imperial arms. As he passed along the streets in the rear of his family and friends, his undaunted and dignified deportment won the admiration of all. At length, halting in front of the tribunal, he thus addressed the emperor : “ If the measure of my success had been answerable to the greatness of my birth and fortune, I might have come to this city rather as a friend than a captive : nor wouldest thou have disdained to receive into terms of peace one descended from illustrious ancestors, and ruling many nations. My present destiny, as it is ill-favoured to me, so is it to thee magnificent : I possessed horses, men, arms, wealth : what wonder is it if I was unwilling to lose them ? Does it follow, that if ye wish to govern all, all should submit to servitude ? If I had surrendered myself instantly, neither my condition nor thy glory would have been remarkable. Oblivion will attend my punishment, but if thou wilt spare my life, I shall be a lasting instance of clemency.”*

The tone of this appeal is in beautiful harmony with the primitive character of the nation, as delineated in our Introduction. Truth, justice, and freedom animate every sentence, and tell favourably of the nature of the soil, which was destined shortly, by means of this occurrence, to receive the seeds of the blessed and everlasting Gospel.

The noble and magnanimous demeanour of the captive touched the emperor, who ordered him to be unchained on the spot, and set at liberty with his wife and brothers. Such is the statement of Tacitus. The Triads inform us, moreover, that Bran, the father of Caradog,† was detained at Rome as

* Tac. Annal. lib. xii.

† Dion Cassius says, that the father of Caradog was Cynvelyn (Cunobelinus), who died before the war with the Romans had commenced. This mistake arose probably from its having been observed that one of the sons of Cynvelyn and his subjects served under the command of Caradog, as noticed in the fol-

hostage for his son seven years. Bran was a bard,* and whilst in the city he seems to have strictly adhered to the principles of his order, in the free investigation of matters which contributed to the attainment of truth and wisdom. One of the leading maxims of Bardism was—"Coeliaw dim a choeliaw pob peth," "To believe nothing and to believe everything:" that is, the British sages, in their search after truth, were bound to believe everything supported by reason and proof, and nothing without.† Rome at this time afforded a wide and advantageous scope for the spirit of religious and philosophical inquiry. Here some greedily discussed the multiform creed of scholastic gentilism; the exclusive ceremonial of Judaism was warmly advocated by others; nor was the mild religion of Jesus without its zealous preachers and consistent professors. St. Paul, not later than two or three years after the arrival of the British captives,‡ which, according to Tacitus, happened A. D. 51, testifies that the faith of the Roman saints was "then spoken of throughout the whole world."§ At the same time he sends his salutation to the following converts resident in the city;—Phœbe; Priscilla, Aquila, the church in their house; Epenetus; Mary; Andronicus, Junia; Amplias; Urbane, Stachys; Apelles; Aristobulus's household; Herodion; Narcissus's household; Tryphena, Tryphosa; Persis; Rufus, Rufus's mother; Asyncretus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which were with them; Philologus, Julia, Nereus, Nereus's sister, Olympas, and all the saints that were with them.|| Nar-

lowing Triad: "The three honest retinues of the Isle of Britain; *the retinue of Belyn, the son of Cypwelyn, in the war of Caradog, the son of Bran*; the retinue of Mynyddawg Eiddin at Catraeth; and the retinue of Drywon, the son Nudd Hael, on the course of Arderydd in the north: that is, all joined those at their own expense, without waiting to be asked, and without soliciting pay or reward of country or king; and therefore were they called the three honest retinues."—*Triad* 79.

* Sketch of the early history of the Cymry, &c., by the Rev. P. Roberts, A.M. p. 112, note.

† Mr. Owen's "Llywarch Hen." preface, p. xxvi.

‡ Hist. Eceles. Magdeburgica, Capellus's Hist. Apost. p. 76, and Dodwell's Diss. de Rom. Pontif. Success. p. 114. Bishop Burgess's Tracts, p. 23.

§ Rom. i. 8.

|| Rom. xvi.

ciissus mentioned in this catalogue was probably the favourite freedman and secretary of Claudius, and if so, it would appear that Christianity had already gained a footing in some of the most respectable families in Rome.* Certain it is, that when St. Paul was here on his first visit, there were “saints of Cæsar’s household.”† According to the chronology of Eusebius and Jerome, the Apostle arrived in Rome A. D. 56, which was about two years before the return of Bran, so that the venerable Bard, if not in close custody, which is not likely to have been the case, had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the doctrines of the Gospel. He might have learned them even from the lips of the Apostle himself, for he “dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him; preaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him.”‡

Bran approached these systems, and weighed their respective merits with an unfettered mind. The sound morality and sublime mysteries of the Gospel recommended themselves preeminently to his reason and faith. Being fully impressed that it was “a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners,”§ he gladly embraced his religion, and on his release introduced it among his own countrymen. The fact is recorded in the following Triads:—

“The three holy families of the Isle of Britain;

“The first, the family of Bran the Blessed, son of Llyr Llediaith: that Bran brought the faith in Christ first into this island from Rome, where he had been in prison through the treachery of Aregwedd Voeddawg, daughter of Avarwy the son of Lludd.

“The second was the family of Cunedda Wledig, who first gave land and privileges to God and his saints in the Isle of Britain.

“The third was Brychan Brycheiniog, who gave his children and grandchildren a liberal education, that they might be able to teach the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry, where they were unbelievers.”||

* Hales on the Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles, &c. p. 11.

† Phil. iv. 22.

‡ Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

§ 1 Tim. i. 15.

|| Triad 18.

“ The three sovereigns of the Isle of Britain who conferred blessings :—

“ Bran the Blessed, son of Llyr Llediaith, who first brought the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry from Rome, where he had been seven years a hostage for his son Caradog, whom the Romans had taken captive after he was betrayed by treachery, and an ambush laid for him by Aregwedd Voeddawg.

“ The second, Lleirwg, the son of Coel, who was the son of St. Cyllin, surnamed Lleuver Mawr, who made the first church at Llandaf, and that was the first in the Isle of Britain, and who bestowed the privilege of country, and nation, and judgment, and validity of oath, upon those who should be of the faith in Christ.

“ The third, Cadwaladr the Blessed, who granted the privilege of his land and all his property to the faithful, who fled from the infidel Saxons and the unbrotherly ones who wished to slay them.”*

The “ Genealogy of the Saints of the Isle of Britain ”† agrees

* Triad 35.

† “ A variety of catalogues of saints, with their more immediate ancestors, have been collected from different sources, and apparently in different parts of the principality. Two only of these catalogues have been published. The first, called “ Bonedd Saint Ynys Prydain ” (“ *The Gentility of the Saints of the Isle of Britain* ”), is inserted in the Welsh Archaiology, where it is professed to have been taken from the book of Hafod Ychdryd. Its orthography is ancient, and from the names it contains it would appear to have been formed in Cardiganshire. The second is also published in the same Archaiology, under the name of “ Bonedd, neu Achau Saint Ynys Prydain ” (“ *Gentility, or Pedigrees of the Saints of the Isle of Britain* ”), being a collection by Lewis Morris from various old MSS. in North Wales, some of which are still in existence. There is also a third catalogue which has not been printed in an entire form, but a great part of its contents have been made known to the world in detached notices. It is styled “ Achau Saint Ynys Prydain,” and gives a more full account of such saints as lived in Siluria, where it seems to have been collected. Each of these catalogues contains a variety of detail not to be found in the others ; but they also contain a great many names in common, and in treating of them, their statements are seldom so conflicting but that they may be reconciled.”—*Essay on the Welsh Saints by Rev. Rice Rees, M.A.*, pp. 73, 74.

The last-mentioned catalogue is now in the press, and will soon be published, together with several other valuable records which were collected by the late Mr. Edward Williams (Iolo Morgawwg).

with the Triads in attributing the first introduction of Christianity to Bran.

“ Bran, the son of Llyr Llediaith, was the first of the nation of the Cymry that embraced the faith in Christ.”

Another copy :—

“ Bran was the first who brought the Christian faith to this country.”

For these interesting documents we are indebted to the Bards, whose duty, according to the Moelmutian laws, was to “ keep an authentic record respecting privileges, customs, families, pedigrees of nobility by honourable marriages, heroic actions, and everything of superior excellence of country and clan.”*

This early reception of the Gospel in Britain is further attested by Theodoret,† Eusebius,‡ and Gildas.§ The two former refer the event to apostolic times, and the latter fixes the date *before* the year 61, when Buddug (Boadicea) was defeated by the Romans.

The “ Genealogy of the Saints ” mentions the name of four Christian missionaries who accompanied Bran on his return to his native country, viz. Ildid, Cyndav and his son Mawan, who are styled “ men of Israel,” and Arwystli Hen, a “ man of Italy.” As the royal convert was more immediately connected with the Cymry than with any other tribe in the island, we naturally infer that the glad tidings of salvation were first pro-

* Myv. Arch. vol. iii.; Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmut.

† Καὶ Βρετταννοῦς—καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων δέξασθαι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν.—Theodoret. *Sermo* 9, de Legib. Opp. tom. iv. p. 610.

‡ Ἑτεροὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ωκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους.—Euseb. *Demonst. Evang.* lib. iii. cap. 7. Par. 1628, p. 112.

§ “ Interea glaciali frigore rigent insulæ quæ velut longiore terrarum secessu. Soli visibili non est proxima, verus ille non de firmamento solum temporali, sed de summa etiam cælorum arce tempora cuncta excedente, universo orbi præfulgidum sui lumen ostendens Christus suos radios, id est sua præcepta indulget, tempore ut scimus summo Tiberii Cæsaris, quo absque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur religio.”—Gildas de *Excidio Britannie*, inter *Monumenta S. Patrum*. Bas. 1569, p. 833.

claimed to that ancient people. This is moreover affirmed in the following Triad :—

“ Three ways in which a Cymro is primary above every other nation in the Isle of Britain ; primary as a native, primary as regards social rights, and *primary in respect of Christianity*.”*

Caradog, though elective sovereign of the whole island, and “ ruling many nations,” was yet emphatically and peculiarly prince of Siluria, and therefore his patrimonial residence must have been situated in that region. A Triad justifies this natural conclusion.

“ The three tribe herdsmen of the Isle of Britain ;

“ Bennren, herdsman in *Corwennydd*.† who kept the herd of *Caradog the son of Bran and his tribe* ; and in that herd were twenty-one thousand milch cows,” &c.‡

Bran’s abode is likewise referred to the same country.

“ The three tribe shepherds of the Isle of Britain ;

“ Collwyn, shepherd of the *tribe of Bran, the son of Llyr Llediaith, in Morgannwg* (Glamorganshire),” &c.§

A farmhouse in Glamorganshire, called Trevran, is pointed out by tradition as the place where Bran used to reside. Not far from it is Llanilid, or the “ church of Ilid,” which is regarded as the oldest church in Britain. The wake or festival of the parish is still called Gwyl Geri, from Ceri, it is supposed, the great-grandfather of Bran. Such a coincidence of circumstances authorises us to form a strong conjecture as to the particular locality where the first assembly of British Christians met to worship their Lord and Saviour.

The information we possess relative to Bran’s associates, though extremely scanty, is yet sufficient to show us that their missionary labours were not fruitless. Of Cyndav and Mawan,

* This Triad forms part of a series in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, vol. iii. entitled “ The Cymro’s Triads,” which is stated to have been taken “ from the same book ” as that which furnished a former series, headed “ These are other Triads of wisdom, which were collected from the different books of Rhisiart Iorwerth, Davydd Benwyn, Watkin Powel, Sir Sion Gruffudd of Llangrallo, and Morys Davydd of Pen y Bont ar Ogwr, by me Thomas ab Ivan of Tre Bryn, in the year 1679.” At the end of the series is added “ Hopkin Twm Philip of Gelli Vid has said them.” Most, if not all, the persons here enumerated were Bards of the Glamorgan chair, in the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries.

† A place in Glamorganshire.

‡ Triad 85.

§ Triad 99.

nothing indeed is recorded besides the simple fact already mentioned. Arwystli is supposed to be the same person with Aristobulus, spoken of in St. Paul's epistle to the Romans xvi. 10. The formation of the name from the Greek would be in perfect accordance with the analogy of the Welsh language. But what adds the greatest support to the hypothesis is the fact that in the Greek menology Aristobulus is said to have been ordained by St. Paul as a bishop for the Britons. In this case, the Greeks and Welsh are witnesses wholly independent of each other; so that collusion is out of the question. Dorotheus, in his synopsis, likewise affirms that Aristobulus was made bishop of Britain.

The menology informs us further, that Aristobulus established churches, and constituted presbyters and deacons in the island.* In the "Genealogy of the Saints," Arwystli is described as the confessor or spiritual instructor (periglor) of Bran.

Ilid, in the "Genealogy of the Saints," is said to have converted many of the Cymry to the Christian faith. In the "Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant,"† he is represented as having arrived from Rome at the request of Eurgain, the daughter of Caradog, and as having become chief instructor of the Cymry in the Christian faith. He is said to have regulated or systemized a choir of twelve saints, which she had established near the church, afterwards called the church of Illtud,‡ and to have subsequently retired to the Isle of Avallon (Glastonbury), where he died, and was buried.

The Triads intimate that the family of Bran in general embraced the Christian religion, for they speak of it as one of

* "Aristobulum quoque, cujus ipse in epistola ad Romanos (xvi. 10) meminit, Britannorum episcopum a Paulo ordinatum in menæis Græcorum invenio; ubi Aristobuli ad 15 mum diem Martii, hujusmodi fit commemoratio. Οὗτος ἦν εἰς τῶν ἐξῶμνηκοντα μαθητῶν ἠκολούθησε δὲ τῷ ἀγίῳ Ἀποστόλῳ Παύλῳ, κηρυττων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διακονῶν αὐτῷ ὑφ' οὗ καὶ χειροτονεῖται ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὴν τῶν Βρεττανῶν χώρων—ὁδὸν καὶ ἐκκλησίας σὸς-τησαμενός, καὶ πρεσβύτερους καὶ διακόνους ἐν αὐτῇ καταστήσας, ἐτελείωθη. Similiter et apud Dorotheum in Synopsi Aristobulum *Episcopum Britanniae* factum fuisse legimus."—Usher's *Britann. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 9.

† A MS. now in the press. Iestyn ab Gwrgant was a prince of Glamorgan about the beginning of the eleventh century, and was the 29th in descent from Caradog, the son of Bran.

‡ As there are several churches which bear the name of Illtud, it is not easy to ascertain which is the particular one referred to here. Perhaps it should be "the church of Ilid."

“ the three holy families of the Isle of Britain.” It is probable that this happened at Rome. We learn from one of the Triads that the whole royal family was carried captive thither :

“ The three royal families that were carried prisoners, from the great-great-grandfather to the great-grandsons, and not one of them escaped :

“ The first, the family of Llyr Llediaith, which was brought captive to Rome by the Cæsarians.

“ The second, the family of Madawg, the son of Medron, which was imprisoned by the Gwyddyl Fichti (*Irish Picts*) in Alban.

“ The third, the family of Gair, the son of Geirion, lord of Geirionydd, which was confined in the prison of Oeth and Anoeth by the voice of the country and nation.

“ Of these not a single member escaped, and the captivity of these families was the most complete ever known to have taken place.”*

According to the old Welsh laws, the immediate ancestors and heirs of a person terminated respectively with the great-great-grandfather and the great-grandson;† so the expression of the Triad must not be taken literally, as if it meant that all the members of Llyr’s family there enumerated were alive at the time, but merely as denoting his entire existing household.

A son and daughter of Caradog are ranked among the saints. The daughter Eurgain or Eigen (as she is sometimes called) is recorded as the first female saint among the Britons,‡ and her conversion seems to have been contemporary with the first introduction of Christianity into the island. According to the “ Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant,” she formed a college of twelve religious persons, which was afterwards called after her own name “ Cor Eurgain ” (the choir of Eurgain). She is said to have been married to a Roman nobleman, who was also a Christian.§

* Triad 61.

† See “ An Essay on Welsh Genealogies,” in the “ Transactions of the Cymmrodorion,” vol. ii. p. 122.

‡ Genealogy of the Saints; Cambrian Biography voce Eigen; Rees’s Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 81.

§ Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant. The Cambrian Biography says that Eigen “ was married to Sarlog, who was lord of Caer Sarlog, or the present Old Sarum.”

St. Paul, in his second epistle to Timothy, which was written during his second imprisonment at Rome, speaks of "Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia,"* with whom, it would appear, Timothy was personally acquainted. It is inferred, from the connexion of the names, that Pudens and Claudia are identical with the couple whose marriage is celebrated by Martial† in those lines :

*Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti ;
Macte esto tædis, O Hymenæe, tuis.
Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo,
Massica Thesæis tam bene vina favis.
Nec melius teneris junguntur vitibus ulmi,
Nec plus lotos aquas, littora myrtus amat.
Candida perpetuo reside Concordia lecto,
Tanque pari semper sit Venus æqua iugo.
Diligat ipsa senem quondam ; sed et illa marito
Tunc quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus.‡*

That Claudia was of British extraction is clear from the following epigram written by the same poet :

*Claudia cæruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita, cur Latæ pectora plebis habet ?
Quale decus formæ ? Romanam credere matres,
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
Dii bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito
Quot sperat generos, quotque puella nurus.
Sic placeat superis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.§*

Thus we have on record another distinguished Briton among the early disciples of Christ, unless indeed she is the same person with Eurgain. For this supposition there is some foundation. In the first place, both were married to Roman noble-

* 2 Tim. iv. 21.

† It has been objected "that Claudia, spoken of by St. Paul, lived in the reign of Nero, and could not be known to Martial, who was living sixty years after, in the reign of Trajan. But to this it may be answered, that notwithstanding the eleventh book of Martial's epigrams was part of it written in the reigns of Nerva or Trajan, yet it does not follow but that some of those poems might be penned a great while before. It is true the poet died in the reign of Trajan, but then we are to consider that he had lived to a great age, that he had formerly been an intimate acquaintance of Silius Italicus, who wrote the second Punic war, and in whose consulship Nero despatched himself. . . . Now, when Nero was emperor of Rome, and most probably towards the latter end of his reign, the second epistle of St. Paul to Timothy was written, in which the salutation of Pudens and Claudia is mentioned ; so that, notwithstanding any chronological reasons insisted on, . . . St. Paul's and Martial's Claudia may be the same person."—*Collier's Ecclesiastical History*, B. 1.

‡ Martial, lib. iv. epigr. 13.

§ Ib. lib. ii. epigr. 54.

men, and their husbands are described as Christians. Again, it has been inferred from Claudia's interest in the literary improvement of her country, that she would on her conversion display equal solicitude and zeal in promoting at home the knowledge of the Gospel.* With this conclusion agrees exactly the character given of Eurgain, that she invited Ildid over to Britain to further the progress of religion, and regulate the affairs of the Church. We may also remark, that her name Eurgain, which signifies "of golden brightness," was probably given to her on attaining years of maturity, with express reference to her surpassing beauty, in conformity with a practice then observed by the Cymry.† This would fully coincide with Martial's compliment—"Quale decus formæ."

Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, Claudius's lieutenant, and the first Roman governor in this country, has been considered, from the manner in which her name is connected with her husband's ovation,‡ to have been also of British birth. She is likewise supposed to have been a convert to the Christian faith, inasmuch as she was arraigned on account of the "foreign superstition," an expression usually employed by the heathen writers of that time to designate Christianity.§ It must be confessed that there is no allusion to this circumstance in the Welsh records, whilst they directly oppose the idea that Pomponia first received the Gospel in Britain. Her trial took place A.D. 57, which was before the release of Bran.

Our native documents are likewise silent respecting the alleged arrival of St. Paul in Britain.|| The only hint which would countenance that hypothesis is to be found in the heading of certain Triads, in which there is every reason to think the British Church inculcated at first the doctrines of Christ-

* *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, ed., 1605. Bishop Burgess's Tracts, p. 132.

† The practice was altered by Cyllin, the son of Caradog. See the "*Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gurgant*."

‡ Tacitus *Annal.* xiii. cap. 32.

§ Suet. lib. vi. cap. 16. Plin. *Epist.* lib. x. ep. 98. Tacit. *Annal.* xv.

|| "There is, or at least there was, a very ancient manuscript in the library of Merton College, Oxford, containing a series of letters, purporting to be a correspondence between the Apostle Paul and Seneca, in which there are said to be some allusions to the former's supposed visit to Wales. These epistles, however, have been held to be spurious. They are mentioned in Pointer's *Miscellanies*, page 214."—*The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iv. p. 468.

ianity. These Triads are entitled "Trioedd Pawl," or "Paul's Triads."* But this can be accounted for on the supposition that the British missionaries received some of their instructions from the Apostle at Rome.

Christianity appears to have been more particularly received within the boundaries of Siluria, where lay the patrimonial dominions of Bran and his family. As that country continued independent of the Roman power as late as A.D. 77, the patronage of royalty, under the blessing of heaven, could not fail of securing the extension of the Church. The bardic institution would likewise prove a very effectual instrument in promoting the same result. In Siluria, Bardism still observed its original principles, and Bran, as a member, would be bound by its rules to lay the doctrine of Christianity which he had embraced before a Gorsedd, or public convention, as far as was practicable. This, it is admitted, was not a very feasible task, for although the region was not finally reduced before the year 77,† yet it was in the meanwhile the scene of active warfare,‡ and the open proceedings of the Bards would be particularly opposed by the Romans, being regarded by them as the especial source of patriotism, freedom, and independence. This was remarkably instanced in the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, who so cruelly massacred an assembly of Druids, and cut down their sacred groves in the isle of Anglesey about the year 59.§ Nevertheless, we are informed that the Silurian Druids very generally embraced Christianity on its first promulgation in the island, and that in right of their office they were exclusively elected as Christian ministers,|| though their claims to national

* E. Williams's *Lyric Poems*, vol. ii. p. 251. † Tacit. *Agric.* cap. 18.

‡ "Cum Romani imperitandi libidine eos adorirentur, Carataci regis virtute viribusque confisi, et Claudii Cæsaris voce proritati, qui hos ita extinguendos dixerat, ut olim Sugambri excisi fuerant; adeo difficili bello Romanos divexarunt, cohortibus auxiliariis interceptis, legione, cui Marius Valeus præerat, fusâ, et vastatis sociorum agris, ut P. Ostorius Britannicæ prætor, his ærumnis, fessus et confectus diem obicit. Veranius etiam qui sub Nerone præfuit, hos frustra aggressus est, nam quod habet Tacitus illum modicis excursibus sylvas populatum esse, lege Siluras cum nostro eruditissimo Lipsio, et verissime leges. Nec tamen soporatum fuit hoc bellum usque ad Vespasiani tempora. Tunc enim Julius Frontinus armis eos subegit, et legionario milite cohibuit."—(*Camden's Britannia*, 1587, p. 402.)

§ Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xiv. cap. 30.

|| W. Owen's *Introd. to Ll. Hen.* E. Williams's *Lyric Poems*, vol. ii. p. 203.

privileges as such were not finally sanctioned until the reign of Lles ab Coel (Lucius).

In an old British manuscript, entitled "A Dialogue between a disciple and his master,"* we are informed that Bran rendered an essential service to the literature of his country, by introducing the art of dressing skins as materials for writing, and also of forming the cylinder or staff on which the parchment was rolled up. The passage is as follows:—

"*Disciple*.—Who first made a roll for literary purposes?

"*Master*.—Bran the Blessed, the son of Llyr Llediaith, learned the way of making it at Rome, and brought it with him to Britain, where he taught it to the Cymry, and also the manner of tanning the skins of goats and kids, so that they could be written upon. And that mode became customary, so that the Bards alone, as it were to secure it strictly, applied themselves to the old plan of inscribing letters on wood, for the sake of recording and preserving the old sciences of the nation of the Cymry; and hence it was called Coelbren y Beirdd (*the token stick of the Bards*). These preserved the memory of it by cutting their songs and records on wood according to the ancient art; and that with a view to maintain an authentic memorial of the primitive sciences of the Cymry."

The fact recorded in this extract affords another proof of the real adherence of the royal Bard to the fundamental principles of his order, and the lively interest he took in the welfare of his native land. Bran died, it is supposed, about A.D. 80.† and his chaplain Arwystli A.D. 99.‡ The prolongation of their lives to such late periods was evidently a great blessing to the Church, which had been without doubt the particular object of their solicitude, zeal, and protection.

* The passage is quoted in the original in Taliesin Williams's Essay on "Coelbren y Beirdd," or *The Bardic Alphabet*, p. 25.

† Cambrian Biography.

‡ Cressy.

CHAPTER II.

NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH.

“Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers.”
—ISAIAH xlix. 23.

It is affirmed in the Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant that Caradog, “after he had been carried captive to Rome, returned to Wales.” Alford likewise says, “that Claudius sent him home again, and that after many years he died in peace, being a friend to the Romans.”* His son Cyllin succeeded to his throne, and is described as a wise and gracious sovereign, deeply imbued, moreover, with the desire of extending the influence of the Church within his kingdom; hence he has been emphatically styled Cyllin Sant, or Cyllin the Saint. In his days, many of the Cymry were converted to the Christian faith, through the teaching of the native clergy, and were also visited by several missionaries from Greece and Rome.†

A custom had hitherto prevailed among the Cymry, of deferring to impose names upon individuals until they arrived at

* Alford, A. D. 53, n. 7. Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 35, ed. 1685.

† “Cyllin, the son of Caradog, was a very wise and gentle king, and in his time, many of the Cymry were converted to the Christian faith, through the teaching of the saints of the choir of Eurgain; and many godly men from Greece and Rome were in Wales in his time.”—*The Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant*.

years of maturity, when their faculties were duly developed, so as to suggest a suitable and appropriate appellative. This custom was authoritatively changed by Cyllin, who enacted that, in future, a person's name should be given him in his infancy.* The alteration, we naturally presume, referred to baptism; and the royal enactment is so far interesting, as it implies the exercise of state authority in matters ecclesiastical, and the wide and visible progress which Christianity had already made in the king's immediate dominions. This might have happened before the final subjugation of Siluria; but it is not absolutely necessary, with a view to the possession of the requisite power, that it should have been so. It was consistent with the policy of the Romans to entrust the conquered chiefs in a subordinate degree with their former jurisdiction. Thus Tacitus relates that, in the time of Ostorius, the captor of Caradog, they granted, according to ancient custom, certain cities to the British king Cogidunus, and assigns as the reason, that they might have even kings as instruments of slavery.† The same motive would urge them to allow the Silurian princes to be considered still as titular monarchs of Britain,—an inference which is strongly corroborated by domestic records. Without some such politic measures it would have been impossible for the Romans to keep quiet possession of the island, and particularly of Siluria, the source of native power.

Cyllin's life must have been extended to the second century. He left behind him two sons, Owain and Coel, the former of whom seems to have inherited his father's dominions. It would appear that he enjoyed a tranquil reign, and was on good terms

* "He it was who first caused a man's name to be given him when a child, for previously a name was not imposed before full age, and a knowledge was obtained of the faculties."—*The Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gurgant*.

† "Consularium primus Aulus Plautius præpositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius; redactaque paulatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars Britannia, addita insuper veteranorum colonia; quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ, vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges."—Tacit. Julii Agric. vita, cap. xiv.

with the Romans, whose magnificence and splendour he copied in the erection of a royal palace. He rendered many and great benefits to his Christian subjects in general, and particularly to the establishment founded by Eurgain, which he is said to have endowed with wealth for the maintenance of twelve members.*

Coel was a Bard, and is celebrated as the introducer of the grinding mill with wheels among the Cymry; whence he is ranked in a Triad with Morddal and Corvinwr, under the title of "the three blessed artisans of the Isle of Britain."†

It is not at all improbable that Coel was the eldest of the two, but that being a Bard, he resigned his regal claims in favour of his brother, because warfare, in which he might have been engaged, was considered incompatible with the profession of Bardism.‡ This would account for the fact that Lleirwg the son of Coel succeeded to the throne after Owain's death, instead of his own son Eirchion.

The Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant speaks of attacks made about this time upon the Christians by the infidels, whereby many of the former were slain. Eirchion is said to have, on one occasion, encountered the assailants, and to have put several of them to death with his bare fist, without the aid of a single weapon, an act which obtained for him, from henceforth, the appellation of Eirchion Vawdvilwr (the thumb soldier.)§

It is difficult to ascertain who those "infidels" were,—whether Romans, natives, or marauders from the neighbouring countries, and what was the primary intention of their assaults. Certain it is, that North Britain was, about A. D. 121, and for

* "Owain, the son of Cyllin, conferred many benefits on the Christians, and erected a large and magnificent palace, after the Roman manner, on the spot where Caradog, the son of Arh, had had a palace in San Dunwyd He granted wealth and possession to the choir of Eurgain, for the maintenance of twelve saints."—*The Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant*.

+ Triad 91.

‡ See Introduction, p. 13.

§ "In the time of Eirchion, the Son of Owain, the infidels slew many of the Christians, but Eirchion went against them, and killed many of them with no edged weapon,—nothing but his bare hand, and therefore was he called Eirchion Vawdvilwr."—*The Genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant*.

a considerable length of time afterwards, the scene of great commotion, in consequence of inroads made by the Caledonians into the Roman province.* It is also equally true that the Christians were now held in great contempt throughout the empire, and cruelly persecuted by the provincial magistrates, even without the warranty of imperial edicts.† That a systematic attack was made upon the British Christians at this time is, however, no mean evidence of their number and importance in the country. The inference receives support from contemporary writers. Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, asserts, that in his time every country known to the Romans contained professors of the Christian faith.‡ Irenæus also, A.D. 169, speaks of Christian Churches as established among the Celtæ, which would comprehend several of the British tribes.§

When Lleirwg|| (Lucius) ascended the throne, he became deeply impressed with the necessity of providing more amply for the Church, regulating its external affairs as bearing upon the state in a more defined and permanent manner, and more clearly distinguishing it from ancient Druidism. With this view, he applied to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 173-189,¶

* Hanes Cymru, p. 114.

† Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 56 Burton's *History of the Christian Church*, p. 210.

‡ Οὐδὲ ἔν γάρ ὅλως ἐστὶ τὸ γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἔτε βαρβάρων, ἔτε Ἑλλήνων, ἔτε ἀπλῶς ὠντινοῦν ὀνόματι προσαγορνομένων, ἢ ἀμαξοβίων, ἢ ἀοίκων καλεσμένων, ἢ ἐν σκηναῖς κτηνοτρόφων οἰκωντων, ἐν οἷς μὴ εἰὰ τοῦ ὀνοματος τοῦ σταυρωθεντος Ἰησοῦ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων γίνονται.—*S. Just. Mart. cum Tryphone Judæo Dialogus*. Ed. Thirlby. Lond. 1722, p. 388. Ed. Paris, 1636, p. 345.

§ Καὶ οὕτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἰδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστευκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὕτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, οὕτε ἐν Κελτοῖς.—*D. Iren. Adv. Hæres.* l. l. c. 3, p. 52.

|| “Lleurwg was also called ‘Lleuver Mawr,’ or the Great Luminary; which probably was an epithet bestowed upon him at a later age, in consideration of his having promoted the cause of Christianity. The Latin name corresponding to this epithet was Lucius, from *Lux*. Lles, on the other hand, first occurs in the fabulous chronicles, and is perhaps due to those later authors who formed a Welsh imitation of Lucius.”—*Rees's Welsh Saints*, p. 84.

¶ Burton's “*History of the Christian Church*,” p. 262. The dates assigned

by means of Medwy and Elvan,* native Christians, requesting to be furnished with the Roman and imperial laws, in which he doubtlessly expected to find certain ordinances respecting the Church. Eleutherius sent him in reply the following letter.

“ You have desired us, that we should send you a copy of the Roman and imperial laws, with a design to make them the rule of justice in the realm of Britain. As for the imperial laws, we may dislike and disapprove them at any time ; but the law of God is above all censure and exception. I mention this, because, through the mercy of God, you have lately received the Christian faith in the kingdom of Britain, so that now you have the privilege of consulting both the Old and New Testament. Out of these holy volumes you may, by the advice of your subjects, collect a body of law, which, under God’s protection, may enable you to govern your realm of Britain. For, according to the royal prophet, you are God’s vicegerent within your own dominions, ‘ the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof, the world, and they that dwell therein.’ And again, according to the same royal prophet, ‘ thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.’ And elsewhere in the Psalms David prays, ‘ Give the king thy judgments, O God,’ &c. ‘ Thy judgments,’ not any secular regulations, not any systems of royal sanction. Now, the king’s sons, which follow in the text, are Christian subjects, who live in peace and tranquillity under your protection, and being sheltered by your administration, are cherished, as the Scripture speaks, ‘ as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings,’ &c. As for the people of the kingdom of Britain, they are your subjects, and committed to your care ; amongst whom, it is your part to promote unity and good understanding, to bring them to a submission to the Gospel, and into the bosom of the

to the application of Lucius are different. Archbishop Usher has enumerated as many as twenty-five, varying from A.D. 137 to 199. Most of the best historians, however, agree in referring the event to the time of Marcus Aurelius, who reigned from 161 to 180.

* Liber Landavensis, p. 309.

Church ; to restrain them from disorder ; to support, protect, and govern them, and screen them from the insults of injurious malice. ‘ Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning.’ I do not suppose that a king is here called a child either for having lived too little or too long,—upon the score of his first or his second infancy ; but this character of disadvantage is given him for his folly and injustice, for his licentious and extravagant conduct, according to the royal prophet, ‘ the blood-thirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days,’ &c. By ‘ eating,’ we are to understand gormandizing, which proceeds from a luxurious appetite, and is commonly attended with a train of other vices. These disorders make a man incapable of the blessings of religion ; for, according to King Solomon, ‘ Into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.’ A king has his royal title from the functions of government, not from the advantage of power. As long as you govern well, you will be a king in propriety of language ; but if you fail in this point, the royal character will not belong to you, and you will lose the very name of a king, which I heartily wish may never happen. God Almighty grant, that you may so govern the realm of Britain, that you may reign with him for ever, whose representative you are in your kingdom above-mentioned.”*

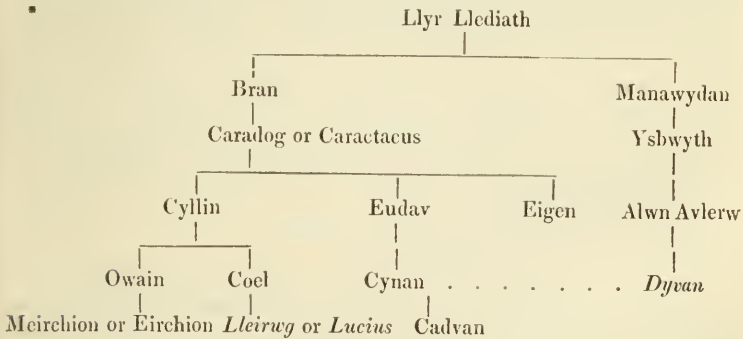
The conveyance of this letter was entrusted to Dyvan and Fagan, both of British extraction, and both most probably descendants of some of the royal captives taken to Rome with Caradog. Dyvan, indeed, is ascertained to be the great grand-

* Translated by Collier. See his Ecclesiastical History, B. i. cent. ii. Though several objections have been urged against the credit of this letter, it has never yet been disproved. It has been popularly thought that it exhibits a view of the national affairs of Britain materially different from what they really were at the time under consideration. It is now, however, sufficiently evident that such a view is perfectly coincident with the representation of native records, so that any argument founded upon that opinion must be fallacious. Moreover, the circumstance that the alleged epistle of Eleutherius, though not noticed in any of the Welsh records, should yet agree with the tenor of their statements as to the station and character of Lucius, is singularly corroborative of the genuineness of the composition itself.

son of Manawydan, Bran's brother, and therefore a kinsman of Lleirwg.* The selection of such persons was judicious, and well calculated to promote the design of the king.

What Lleirwg by their aid accomplished, is briefly, though not very intelligibly, specified in the Triads. One says, that he "made the first Church at Llandaf, which was the first in the Isle of Britain, and bestowed the privilege of country and nation, judicial power and validity of oath, upon those who might be of the faith in Christ."† Another Triad, speaking of the three archbishoprics of the Isle of Britain, states: "The first was Llandaf, of the gift of Lleirwg, the son of Coel, the son of Cyllin, who first gave lands and civil privileges to such as first embraced the faith in Christ."‡

The explanation of the whole seems to be this: Christianity had naturally and gradually become incorporated with Bardism, and Evangelical worship was performed in the Druidical circles. Still, however, the change, as it would appear, was not universal even among the Silurians. The Church, though in perfect accordance with the primary object of Bardism,§ was, nevertheless, so different from the Druidical department in polity and doctrine, as to require a legal sanction for the transition. This could be obtained only by "the consent of the country, the neighbouring country, and particularly the tribe."|| To adopt this course



|| "There are three things which must not be done, but by the consent of the country, the neighbouring country, and particularly the tribe: abrogating

was Eleutherius's advice to Lleurwg; "Out of them (the Old and New Testament) *by the advice of your realm* take a law" (*ex illis Dei gratiâ per consilium regni vestri sume legem*). Unless this was done, the ministers of religion, though taken exclusively out of the Bardic order, could not legally enjoy the civil and temporal privileges which belonged to the Druids. Hence Lleurwg secured to them the "privilege of country and nation, judicial power, and validity of oath."

The principal constitutional privileges and immunities enjoyed by the Druids, as we have already seen, were the following: five free acres of land; exemption from personal attendance in war; permission to pass unmolested from one district to another in time of war as well as peace; support and maintenance wherever they went; exemption from land tax; and a contribution from every plough in the district in which they were the authorised teachers.*

"Judicial power,"† probably meant an appeal to, and redress received from a court of justice.

The "validity of oath,"‡ mentioned in the Triad implies the

the king's law; dethroning the sovereign; and *teaching new doctrines, and new regulations in the convention of the Bards*. For these things (as to the Bards) must not be done until the country and the tribe understand their nature, tendency, and regular order, according to the judgment and legal illustration of learned and wise men, who are regularly inducted teachers in the efficient convention of the Bards of the Isle of Britain. For neither law, regulation, art, nor any kind of knowledge of the sciences, can acquire any privilege unless they are shewn to be true by illustration and instruction; and this is to be done by the decision of masters and wise men, who are duly authorised by instruction, sciences, and authority, according to the privileged regulations of the country and the tribe."—*Myr. Arch.* vol. iii. *Laws of Dyrrwal Moelmud*.

* See Introduction, p. 15.

† Wallace Brawd—"A making clear, or current; accordance; a judgment; social right."—Dr. Pughe's *Dict. sub Voce*.

‡ Briduw—"Juramenti species, quo is qui sub juramento aliquid affirmat, se Christianum esse profitetur, et per fidem in baptismo professam, se non mentiri. Nostri dicerent, *swearing by one's faith*. Usurpatur hæc formula in caussis empti et venditi. Alias dicitur *Cred*. Unde Rhoddi cred ar un, *fidem obstringere*. Significat etiam et contractum sub tali juramento factum."—Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*.

obligation of contracts made by a Christian. It may be that the mode of "swearing by the decalogue," the first kind of oath among the British Christians, was now publicly sanctioned, and substituted for the old Druidical forms enumerated in the following Triad:

"There are three sacred objects to swear by,—the rod of office (or truncheon) of the minister of religion, the name of God, and hand joined in hand, and these are called hand relies. There are three other modes of swearing; a declaration upon the conscience, a declaration in the face of the sun, and a strong declaration by the protection of God and his truth."*

Where it is affirmed that Lleirwg "made the first church at Llandaf, which was the first in the Isle of Britain," we are to understand that under his authority arose the first Christian edifice which differed in its structure from the Druidical enclosures. That the early Christians did actually perform divine worship in the bardic circles, is pretty evident from the fact that some of these still retain in their names and other circumstances, clear marks of their having been used for evangelical purposes. Such is Carn Moesen, or the Carnedd of Moses, in Glamorganshire, Carn y Groes, on the mountain of Gelly Onen, in the same county, where a very ancient cross stands; and Ty Illtud in Breconshire, and many others.†

Lleirwg was nominal king of Britain. As we have elsewhere observed, to concede to him the title would be perfectly agreeable to Roman policy. Even about this very time, we are informed that the emperor Lucius Verus permitted the kings whom he conquered in the East to retain subordinately their former power and dominions.‡ There is reason, however, to suppose that the actual authority of Lleirwg was very circumscribed. Many of the tribes had yielded to the different expe-

* Myv. Archaiol, vol. iii.

† W. Owen's "Llywarch Hen," Introduction, p. xxxviii.

‡ "Atque ut hoc ipso tempore de quo agimus, Lucium Verum Imperatorem in Oriente confecto bello Parthico, regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis regendas dedisse, docet Capitolinus."—*Usher's Britann. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. iii.

dients of policy suggested by the Romans, and conformed to their laws and manners.* The Cymry in general would probably still acknowledge him as their lord paramount; hence in an old Saxon Chronicle,† he is styled *þex bþiƿwalana*, or king of the Britons of Wales. Some of his regulations might therefore have extended to different parts of the country, yet circumstances would confine their particular application to that part of Siluria, which was afterwards known by the joint names of Gwent and Morganwg, of which he was the immediate chieftain. The national establishment of Christianity in that territory, obtained for it subsequently the honourable designation of “first archbishopric of the Isle of Britain.”

Several considerations of importance might have demanded the course which the British sovereign took on this occasion. For instance, the distracted state of the country might have prevented the full and effective operation of Bardism, and consequently required for the Church a more distinct and public patronage. The Romans looked with great jealousy upon Druidism, because of its uncompromising opposition to foreign invasion. This, as before remarked, was evidently exemplified by Suetonius Paulinus, in his merciless attack upon the Druids in Anglesea.‡ The collector of the “*Antiquitates Britannicæ*” asserts, indeed, that an edict was actually issued by Marcus Antoninus Verus, a short time before the application of Lleirwg for the extermination of the Druidic order throughout the provinces.§

Within the jurisdiction of Llandaf are four churches, bearing respectively the names of Lleirwg, Dyvan, Fagan, and Medwy.|| As there are no such traditionary traces of the ministries of those persons observable in any other parts of the country,¶

* A Triad says of the powerful nation of the Coranians in particular, that “they combined themselves with the Cæsarians so as to become one.” (Triad 15.)

† Cited by Usher, c. iii.

‡ Chap. i. p. 61.

§ See Usher, cap. iv.; and Collier, B. i.

|| Rees’s Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 84; Price’s “*Hanes Cymru*,” p. 166.

¶ Must we mention, as an exception, a church in Somersetshire, spoken of

the circumstance adds weight to the inference that their ecclesiastical arrangements were chiefly, if not solely, confined to the patrimonial territory of Lleirwg. Dyvan is considered as the first bishop of Llandaf,* and is said to have suffered martyrdom on the spot which is now occupied by the church dedicated to his memory.† He was succeeded in the see by Fagan,‡ one of whose favourite aphorisms has been handed down to us by the Bards.

“ Didst thou hear the saying of Fagan,
When he had produced his argument ?
‘ Where God is silent, it is not wise to speak.’ ” §

In the reign of Lleirwg is dated the invention and adoption by the Cymry of the present style of books, *i. e.*, with distinct leaves, one above another, instead of the roll or volume.||

At his death it was publicly decreed that the sovereign dignity should be wholly wrested from the Silurian chiefs, and annexed to the Romans.¶ Accordingly Commodus assumed the reins of government, and was complimented by his flatterers with the epithet “ Britannicus.”** His reign nevertheless was

by Stow? “ True it is, that till this day, here remaineth in Sommerset-shire, in the Deaury of Dunstor, a parish-church, bearing the name of St. Deruvian, as a church either by him founded, or to him dedicated.” (*Stow.*) Quoted in Britan. Eccles. Antiq.

* See a “ Chronological series of the Bishops of Llandaf,” appended to the “ Liber Landavensis.” The information is stated to have been furnished to the editor by Mr. Taliesin Williams, from a manuscript by his father, Iolo Morganwg.

† Rees’s “ Essay on the Welsh Saints,” p. 87.

‡ Chronological Series, &c.

§ Englynion y Clywed : see Cambrian Biography, voce *Fagan*.

|| “ After the roll, were invented books, such as are now in use, in the time of Lles, the son of Coel, the first king of baptism in the Isle of Britain.” (*Essay on Coelbren y Beirdd*, by Taliesin Williams, p. 19.) The above statement is professed to have been taken from a manuscript by the author’s father, who is also said to have copied it from “ the Book of Llywelyn Sion,” an eminent Bard of Glamorgan, about A. D. 1580.

¶ Bal. Centur. 1 Script. Britan. cap. xxx. Joh. Fordon. Scotochron. lib. 2, cap. xxxi. Boeth. Hist. lib. 5. Galfrid Moneth. lib. 5, cap. i. ii. Edit. Heidelberg.

** Camd. Britan. p. 33, ed. 1587. Burton’s “ History of Wales,” p. 16.

unpopular, and the legions in Britain fell into divers mutinies, which were eventually suppressed, with considerable personal toil and danger, by Helvius Pertinax, who at length by his policy obtained the imperial dignity. Severus reigned after him, but was opposed by Albinus, lieutenant of Britain, at the head of a select army of British youth. They engaged in Gaul, and Albinus was defeated, upon which Severus came over to Britain A.D. 207; and with a view to secure the provinces from the incursions of the Caledonians, erected a wall of solid stone, and cemented it with the strongest mortar, from the Solway Firth across to Tynemouth, beyond Newcastle.*

In his reign flourished Tertullian, who spoke of British districts "inaccessible to Roman arms but subdued by Christ."† Tertullian founds an argument upon this statement; we may therefore rest assured that it contains a true relation of a fact; and as the Romans were masters of all the island south of the wall, the expression must refer to the adoption of Christianity by the inhabitants of Caledonia.

Severus died at York, A.D. 211, leaving behind him two sons, Caracalla and Geta. The former was born of a British mother, and his claims to the sovereignty were warmly espoused by the Britons, whilst, on the contrary, the Romans held for Geta, whose mother was a Roman.‡ A bloody war arose between the two brothers, which ended in the death of Geta; and Caracalla was confirmed in the empire. His reign was tyrannical and his life immoral, wherefore he incurred the public hatred, and, A.D. 217, was killed at a place called Edessa.

For several years subsequently the civil state of Britain is involved in great obscurity. Yet it is cheering to find proofs of the vitality and strength of the Church in the mean time. Origen, about A.D. 236, testifies that "the divine goodness of our God and Saviour is equally diffused among the *Britons*, the

* Ibid; Collier's Ecclesiastical History, B. 1, cent. iii.

† "Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita." *Tertull. adv. Judæos*. Lut. Par. 1664, p. 189.

‡ "Myv. Arch. vol. ii. Brut. Tysilio; Brut. G. ab Arthur."

Africans, and other nations of the world.”* The British genealogies likewise furnish us with five illustrious names appertaining to the Cambrian Church, which connect this period with the Dioclesian era. These were Gwerydd, Iestin, and Cadvrawd, sons of Cadvan great grandson of Caradog in the line of his son Eudav chief of Erging and Euas;† and Cadgyvarch and Gwrmael, sons of the above-named Cadvrawd. Being of such noble descent, they were doubtlessly men of influence, and in a capacity to render essential service to the Church. Cadvrawd is said to have been a Bishop. There is also a church dedicated to Gwerydd, in Gwent, of which he is considered the original founder.‡

About A.D. 270, Constantius Chlorus married Elen, daughter of Coel Godebog, earl of Colchester. This woman is ranked

* “Virtus Domini Salvatoris et cum his est qui ab orbe nostro in Britannia dividuntur, et cum his qui in Mauritania, et cum universis qui sub sole in nomine ejus crediderunt.” (Hom. 6, in Luc. c. i.)

† “Ergyng, or Archenfield, comprehended the portion of Herefordshire, S.W. of the river Wye, of which the present ecclesiastical Deanery of Archenfield, or Irchenfield, constitutes a part.”—*Liber Landavensis*, p. 311, note.

“Ewyas, or Euas, an ancient district comprising part of the county of Hereford, about Long Town, in which neighbourhood, the names of Ewyas Harold and Ewyas Lacy still remain; the Abbey of Llantony, or Llanddewi Nant Honddu, is situate in the latter. The name of a place, Coedias, in the insulated portion of Herefordshire, on the borders of Breconshire, proves that this district reached thus far. Price’s *Hanes Cymru*, p. 451.

‡ Cambrian Biography, vocibus Cadvrawd et Gwerydd. “Britannos susceptam fidem usque ad Diocletiani tempora integram et intemeratam in pace servasse, et nostri tradiderunt authores et exteri. Beda, lib. i. Hist. Ecclesiasticæ. cap. iv. Annales Anglo-Saxonici, Ivo Carnotensis in Chronico, Gotcelinus Bertinianus, in majore Historia Vitæ Augustini, cap. xxxii. Florentinus Wigorniensis, Galfridus Monemuthensis, Britannicæ Histor. lib. v. cap. 5. Henricus Huntingtoniensis histor. lib. i. Radulphus de Diceto, Johannes de Taxster, Radulphus de Baldoc, Londinenensis episc., Radulphus Cestrensis, in Polychronic. lib. iv. cap. 16. Thomas Rudburnus in minore Chronico, Abingdonensis liber, Annales de Winchcombe, Iacock, Kirstall, &c. Henricus Marleburgensis, Johannes Geerbrandus Leydensis, in Chronic. Hollandiæ, lib. ii. cap. 1. Ponticus Virunnius, Historiæ Britannicæ libro quinto. Johannes Major, de Gestis Scotorum, lib. i. cap. 13; et Polydorus Virgilius, Historiæ Anglicæ libro secundo.”—*Usher*, cap. vii.

among the saints, and is celebrated for her pious zeal and devotion, and particularly for “finding the blessed cross after it had been concealed in the earth by the Jews.”* She was the mother of Constantine the Great, who was born A. D. 273, and she was divorced from her husband, A. D. 286.†

Elen had a brother named Ceneu, who likewise spent his life in the service of religion.‡

A. D. 285. The sovereignty of the island was usurped by Carausius, to whom had been entrusted the defence of the British seas against the piracies of the Franks and Saxons. He governed the natives peaceably and with justice for seven years, when he was slain by his treacherous friend Aleetus, who himself assumed the regal dignity. His reign was very short, and Asclepiodotus, a chieftain of Cornwall, was by his countrymen elevated to the throne.§ He was likewise soon opposed by Coel Godebog, who claimed the British monarchy in right of his wife, Ystravael, sister of the before-mentioned Gwerydd, Iestin, and Cadvrawd. Coel having established himself on the throne, and being unwilling to meet Constantius, who had been sent with a powerful army to recover possession of the island, submitted to him proposals of peace, wherein the annexation of Britain to the Roman empire was acknowledged, and the payment of the usual tribute promised. These terms were received, and Britain once more lost its independence, and fell under the power of Rome.||

* Genealogy of the Saints.

† Usher's *Britan. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. viii.; Stillingfleet's *Orig. Britan.* p. 90.

‡ Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 104.

§ *Cand. Britan.* 1587, pp. 34, 35. Usher's *Britan. Eccles.* cap. xv.; Collier's *Eccles. Hist. B.* 1, cent. iv. *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. pp. 52, 53. *Cambrrian Biography*.

|| *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii.; *British Chronicle*.

CHAPTER III.

COUNCILS OF ARLES, SARDICA, AND ARIMINUM.

“Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.”—2 TIMOTHY i. 13.

COEL GODEBOG died about five weeks after the conclusion of the treaty, and the lieutenancy of the island was conferred upon his son-in-law Constantius Chlorus.* He took up his residence at York, and was greatly beloved by the natives, on account of his mild and gentle disposition. Though no real convert to Christianity himself, he seems to have been inclined in its favour, and, as far as his authority extended, always protected its professors.

In the year 303, the persecution under Diocletian and Maximianus was at its height; when, in the graphic language of Gildas, it appeared “as if the whole Church, leaving behind the dark shades of earth, emulously hastened, in one dense band, to the delightful realms of heaven, as to its own proper abode.”† Constantius was unwilling to abet the work of destruction, but as he was only Cæsar under Maximianus, he could not altogether resist or evade the will of the emperor. Hence, as Lactantius observes, “the edict against the Christians was sent

* Myv. Arch. vol. ii. ; Brut Tysilio ; Brut G. ab Arthur.

† “Ita ut agmine denso certatim, relictis post tergum mundialibus tenebris, ad amœna cœlorum regna, quasi ad propriam sedem, tota festinaret ecclesia.”
—*Gild. de Excid. Britann.*

to him without asking his consent, and he complied so far as to pull down their churches.* But there were inferior officers, and magistrates, who would gladly avail themselves of the imperial decrees to harass the Christians in Gaul and Britain, in spite of Constantius's opposite wishes. In all probability, the cruelties of the persecution, which raged in our own land, were exclusively their work, and inflicted upon the citizens of the Roman towns under their immediate jurisdiction. Alban is said to have been a Roman officer, at Verulam; and Aaron and Julius, citizens of the Roman colony of Caerleon. We hear of none that suffered at Eboracum, or York, where Constantius himself resided, nor has history transmitted to us the names of any of the native Cymry as having on this occasion joined "the noble army of martyrs." It was a peculiarity of the ancient Welsh Church, that its ministers were always taken from the highest class of society.† According to the drift of the imperial edicts, these would principally have been removed, had the violence of the persecution been permitted to reach them, and their names would undoubtedly have been recorded by the Arwyddveirdd, or herald Bards.‡ Elen, daughter of Coel, and, probably, Cenen, her brother, survived the storm. The same may be said likewise of Cadwrawd, if, as is most likely, he was identical with Adelfius,§ who subscribed to the decrees of

* Lactant. de Mort. Persec. c. 15.

† This is evident from the catalogues of the British saints, where no vulgar name appears. Such a distinction may be considered as of Druidical origin, for, according to the testimony of Mela (iii. 2), the disciples of the Druids were *nobilissimi gentis*, sons of the noblest families in the nation: and it is observable that the Christian ministers in the infant Church of Wales were exclusively chosen out of the Bardic order.

‡ The Arwyddvardd was an officer of national importance, one of whose principal duties was to attend to the birth, marriage, or death, of every person of high degree or descent, and to register the pedigree of his family. He was recompensed for his trouble by a stipend out of every plough-land in his district.

§ Cadwrawd is compounded of cad and brawd (*brother*), and Adelfius seems to have been formed from the Greek word Ἀδελφός (*brother*). It was frequently the practice of the Greeks and Romans, not merely to give their

Arles, A.D. 314. Had any native Christians of note suffered at this time, it would be difficult to account for the preference shewn by their descendants to the memory of the Roman martyrs. That the British Church honourably commemorated Alban, from an early period, is evident from what Matthew Paris affirms relative to the discovery of a book, in the tenth century, amidst the ruins of ancient Verulam. This book, he tells us, contained the history of St. Alban, written in the *ancient British character and dialect*,* which the natives used when Verulam was inhabited.† We are also informed by Walter de Mapes, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Giraldus Cambrensis, that two magnificent churches adorned the memory of Aaron and Julius, at Caerleon.‡ Such circumstances force us naturally to conclude, that the natives in general, and particularly the Cymry, escaped the rigors of the Diocletian persecution. The protomartyr of the Cambrian Church was Dyvan, and the church of Merthyr Dyvan still indicates the fact, and the exact spot where the saint fell.

In the year 305, Diocletian and Maximianus abdicated the empire in favour of Galerius and Constantius. The former had Illyria, Greece, Egypt, and all the east; whilst Africa, and the west of Europe, fell to the share of Constantius, who was proclaimed emperor at York. This event put a stop at once to the severities practised upon the Christians, over whom Constantius had the supreme authority; and they were now permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, without molestation or annoyance.§

own terminations to British names, but even to translate them entire into their respective languages: thus Lleuwer Mawr (*the great Luminary*) was rendered into Lucius from *Lux*, and Morgan (*the seaborne*) into *Πελαγιος*.

* For this character, see Introduction, p. 32. The first deviation from it appears to have taken place when monkish establishments began to prevail, and the alphabet then adopted was styled Coelbren y Meneich (*the alphabet of the Monks*). This, however, did not materially differ from the Bardic.

† Usher's Britan. Eccles. Antiq. p. 80. ed. sec.

‡ Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 319. Girald. Cambren. in Itin. Camb. lib. i. c. 5.

§ Euseb. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 13.

The emperor, on his return the following year, from an expedition against the Gwyddyl Fichti, or Picts of the north, died at York, having previously nominated his son Constantine as his successor.* The choice thus made, was highly agreeable to the Britons, as well as the Roman legions, and, as Constantine was in Britain, they lost no time after his father's death in confirming his election, by duly proclaiming him emperor.†

The circumstance of his mother having been the daughter of the rightful monarch of Britain, and of his own birth and elevation to the throne having taken place in this country, naturally claimed the allegiance of the natives. This was indeed a bond, which, at least in the former part of his reign, closely united the interests of the emperor with those of his British subjects. Hence we find him actively prosecuting the war which his father had commenced against the wild and predatory tribes of Alban, whilst, in return, the flower of the British youth assisted him in his expedition against Maxentius.‡

Constantine does not appear to have had any fixed creed prior to his victory over Maxentius, notwithstanding, he secured to the Christians, immediately on his accession, the full enjoyment of their religion.§ From the date of that conquest, A.D. 312, which is said to have been preceded by a miracle|| calculated to attach him more than ever to the followers of Jesus, he may be considered a convert to their faith and worship,

* Euseb. de Vit. Constantini, lib. i. c. 15 ; Myv. Arch. vol. ii. ; Brut G. ab Arthur. Eutrop. lib. 10. Menæ Mai, 21.

† Eumen, *Paneg.* Julian. Orat. i. ad Constant. Aurel. Vict.

‡ Myv. Arch. vol. ii. ; Brut G. ab Arthur.

§ Lactant. de Mort. Persec.

|| The popular account is, that as he was one evening marching against his rival, he saw a cross in the sky, with this inscription, *ἐν τούτῳ νικά.* Having for some time doubted what this appearance was intended to signify, he fell asleep, and in the silence of the night Christ appeared to him, bearing a cross like that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to frame one of the same shape, and use it for his standard in battle. When he awoke, he obeyed, gained a complete victory over Maxentius, and openly declared himself a convert to Christianity.—See *Euseb. de Vit. Constant.* lib. ii. c. 28, 29, and *Sozomen.*

though his baptism was deferred for some time afterwards. His endeavours were from henceforth directed particularly to the promotion of Christianity throughout the empire, and he eventually succeeded in establishing it as the national religion. But, independently of the general immunities which he thereby secured to his Christian subjects at large, he rendered a particular service to the British Church, by founding an archiepiscopal see at York.* The fact is thus noticed in the Triad :—

“The three archbishoprics of the Isle of Britain :

“The first, Llandaf ; founded by Lleirwg, the son of Coel, the son of Cyllin, who first gave land and national privileges to those who first embraced the faith in Christ.

“The second, York ; founded by the emperor Constantine, who was the first of the Roman emperors who embraced the Christian faith.

“The third, London ; founded by the emperor Mæsen Wledig (Maximus).†”

A.D. 314, Constantine convened a council at Arles, for the sake of suppressing the heresy of the Donatists. It consisted chiefly of bishops and clergy out of Gaul and Britain, in compliance with the requests of the heretics ; because, as the reason is assigned, there had been no persecution under the government of Constantius.‡ The names of those who attended upon that occasion from Britain, as given by Usher and Spelman, were :—

“Eborius Episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provinciâ Britannîâ.

“Restitutus Episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, provinciâ su-prascriptâ.

“Adelfius Episcopus, de civitate coloniâ Londinensium,—exinde Sacerdos Presbyter, Arminius Diaconus.§

* Camden asserts, that, according to the testimony of native records, York was erected into an episcopal see by Constantius Chlorus.—P. 473, edit. 1587.

† Triad 62.

‡ Optat. de Schism. Donat. lib. i.

§ Tom. i. Concilior. Galliæ, edit. Paris. an. 1629, p. 9.

In Isidori Mercatoris collectione,

‘Londinensium’ is evidently an error. The usual proportion of deputies who attended councils in the early Church was a bishop, and a presbyter or two, for each province. Thus, Hilary, speaking of the synods of his own time, says, “That one or two bishops were sent for out of a province;”* and in the summons to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, in Sicily, the only one remaining having reference to the council of Arles, it is expressly desired, that he should come out of that province, and to bring two presbyters with him.† As there were at this time only three‡ provinces in Britain, and as York and London were the respective capitals of Maxima Cæsariensis, and Britannia Prima, it is reasonable to presume, that the place whence bishop Adelfius came, was the principal Roman station in Britannia Secunda, which was Caerleon upon Usk. Here was a colony of the second legion, and ignorant transcribers might easily commit the blunder of substituting “de civit. col. Londin.” for “de civit. col. Leg. ii.”

We have elsewhere hinted, that Adelfius might be the same person with Cadvrawd. May he not also be identified with Edelfed, who is placed as the fourth bishop of Llandaf in Iolo Morganwg’s list? The similarity in the sound of the names, as well as the coincidence of chronology, will fairly warrant the supposition. But, if that be the case, we must again alter the latter subscription into *de civitate§ Landavensi*, unless we be satisfied that the confusion of the two sees of Llandaf and Caerleon had already commenced.

Ex provinciâ Bitaniâ Eburius Episcopus; ex civitate Culniâ Adelfius.

In editione Petri Crabbe,

Ex provinciâ Britannia, civitate Londinens. Restitutus Episcopus.

Ex provin. Byzacenâ, civit. Tubernicen. Eburius Episcopus.

Ex eâdem provin. civitate Culucitanâ. Adelphius.

Usher, p. 104.

* Hilar. de Synod.

† Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5.

‡ Usher maintains that there were four provinces of Britain at this time, and that *Flavia Cæsariensis* was one of them; but Stillingfleet is of opinion that the authority of Camden is to be preferred in this case, according to which *Britannia Flavia* was never to be met with before the time of Flavius Theodosius.

§ Llandaf was not a Roman city.

At the breaking up of the council, Restitutus, bishop of London, is said to have conveyed a copy of the canons with him.*

The good understanding, which at first existed mutually between the emperor and his British subjects, did not, however, continue long. When he departed from the island to war with his enemies abroad, Eudav, prince of Cornwall, or, according to other accounts, earl of Erging and Euas, at the head of a large army of his countrymen, rebelled against the officers whom he had left behind as his vicegerents, and having conquered them, took upon himself the sovereignty. Constantine sent Trahaiarn, his mother's uncle, to oppose him, and to regain possession of the provinces, but all his efforts were unavailing. Trahaiarn was killed, and Eudav became more firmly established on the throne. This decisive victory happened ten years† from the first appointment of his rivals to the lieutenancy of the country, and, if we date that event A.D. 312, the year in which Maxentius was defeated and slain, we come down to the year 322, as the time when Eudav finally triumphed over them. It is said, that he governed the kingdom for the long space of fifty-four years,† which, commencing with the departure of Constantine, would extend to about A.D. 366. Walter de Mapes and Geoffrey of Monmouth affirm, that he reigned until the time of Gratian and Valentinian, who became partners in the western empire, A.D. 367.‡

It is not to be supposed, however, that all the British tribes had unanimously conferred upon him the monarchical dignity,

* Godwin de Præsul. Spelman Concil. vol. i. p. 43; Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. i. cent. 4.

† It is proper here to mention that these dates are taken from a modern work entitled the "Life of Merlin." No authorities are referred to, and though it appears to have been chiefly compiled from Geoffrey of Monmouth, it differs in some respects from that author, as here, where Eudav is affirmed to have been the vicegerent appointed by Constantine contrary to the statement of Geoffrey. As the vicegerency, whether of Eudav or his rivals, must have commenced with the departure of the emperor, we have not scrupled to measure a period in the one case from a date used in reference to the other.

‡ Myv. Arch. vol. ii.

or that his authority was universally acknowledged throughout the island. On the contrary, there was a strong party attached to the Roman interest, not only in the army and municipal towns, but also among some of the native states, which had been gradually imbibing the manners of their conquerors. Hence, Constantine, although he could not overthrow his rival, did not, as long as he lived, forego his own claims, and at his death he transferred them to his son. It appears, as if, at length, both parties deemed it politic to limit their respective exertions, and to acquiesce tacitly in this twofold pretension. The principal adherents of Eudav were the Cymry, whose national prejudices had been always strong, and as he was one of themselves, their support, we may reasonably suppose, was enthusiastically given on the occasion.

We have been thus particular on the above subject, as it may enable us to form a tolerable answer to the question, whether or not the British Church was represented at the famous council of Nice, A.D. 325. It is the general opinion, founded on the strong ties which are supposed to have connected Constantine with Britain at the time under consideration, that bishops from this country did attend that council.* Now, the different aspect which the foregoing description exhibits of British affairs, removes the premises from which such a conclusion is deduced, as regards the majority of the people. We may thus maintain, on the contrary, that it is improbable that British prelates would obey the summons of a man from whom their fellow-countrymen had withdrawn their allegiance, and be present at a council convened by his authority. This remark is intended to apply emphatically to the Cymry, among whom the claims of Constantine were most fully repudiated. Bishops from those localities which still acknowledged the imperial jurisdiction may have attended; and, of all others, the archbishop of York, whose see had received its wealth and dignity from Constantine, is least likely to have despised his

* See Stillingfleet's "*Origines Britannicæ*," ch. iii; and Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, B. i. cent 4.

orders. This view of the case is further confirmed by the subsequent conformity of the North Britons with the ecclesiastical usages determined at Nice, whilst the Cymry still adhered to their ancient customs, which they had derived from the eastern Church, as shall be shewn hereafter.

A.D. 347, a council was held at Sardica, in Illyria, under the emperors Constantius and Constans, sons of Constantine the Great. We have the testimony of Athanasius, that bishops from Britain were present, and that they joined in the condemnation of Arius, and vindication of himself.* As, however, their names have not been preserved, we are at liberty to doubt whether any attended from the land of Cymru.

In the year 539, another council was convened at Ariminum, in Italy, by Constantius, to decide, like the preceding, upon the Arian heresy, to which he himself was favourable. Sulpitius Severus says: "There were more than four hundred bishops of the western Church summoned or compelled to attend, unto all of whom the emperor had ordered provisions and apartments to be given. But that was deemed unbecoming by the Aquitans, Gauls, and Britons; and, refusing the imperial offer, they preferred to live at their own expense. Three only from Britain, on account of poverty, made use of the public gift, after they had rejected the contributions offered by others; considering it more proper to burden the exchequer than individuals."†

We have the same reason for excluding the bishops of Wales from this council, as we had in the case of Nice, as Eudav still wielded the reins of government. Had these been permitted to attend, the emperor would not have dared to compel them to subscribe to the doctrines of Arius. Indeed, it is gratifying to find, that the faith of Britain was in general sound as to the divinity of our Saviour about the time when the imperial influence was so unduly exercised. This testimony is furnished by Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, and also by Athanasius. The former, A.D.

* Athanas. Græcolat. tom. i. p. 560, edit. Commelin; Epist. etiam ad solit. Vit. agent. Usher's *Britann. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 105.

† Sulpitii Severi *Sacræ Historiæ*, lib. ii. cap. lv.

358, in his work, *De Synodis*, congratulates the British bishops, in common with those of Germany, upon their entire freedom from all contagion of the detestable Arian heresy.* Athanasius, likewise, and the bishops assembled in the council of Antioch, A.D. 363, assure the emperor Jovian, that the bishops of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, continued to adhere to the Nicene faith, of which they had been informed by letters from those bishops themselves.†

There is nothing strange in the poverty of the three bishops, for it does not appear that there were yet any considerable endowments provided for the Church in Britain, except within the dioceses of Llandaf and York. It is expressly stated in the Triads, that Cunedda Wledig, a chieftain who flourished about this period, was “the *first* who gave land and privilege to God and the saints, in the Isle of Britain;”‡ an expression, which, though not strictly and literally true, yet sufficiently proves that ecclesiastical endowments had not been hitherto general in the island. And though the native bishops might have been elected exclusively out of the principal families, it must be recollected that the tenure of property was at this time very precarious throughout the land, in consequence of the continual irruptions of the Scots and Picts, and the misunderstanding which frequently arose between the Britons and Romans.

The Roman power was declining daily in the island, by the constant withdrawal of the legions to support the cause of the emperors abroad. Though this evacuation might have been

* “Dominis, et beatissimis fratribus, et coëpiscopis Germaniæ primæ et Germaniæ secundæ, &c. et provinciarum Britanniarum episcopis; Hilarius servus Christi, in Deo et Domino nostro æternam salutem.... Beatæ fidei vestræ literis sumptis (quarum lenitudinem ac raritatem de exilii mei et longitudine et secreto intelligo constitisse): gratulatus sum in Domino incontaminatos vos et illæsos ab omni contagio detestandæ hæreseos perstitisse.”

† Ταύτην πίστιν ὁμολόγησαν οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες πατέρες καὶ ταῦτε σύμψηφοι τυγχάνουσι πᾶσαι αἱ κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαι. αἱ τε κατὰ τὴν Σπανίαν, καὶ Βρετανίαν, καὶ Γαλλίας, &c. καὶ αἱ κατ’ ἀνατολὰς ἐκκλησίαι, παρέξ ὀλίγων τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων. Πάντων γὰρ τῶν προειρημένων τῇ πείρᾳ ἐγνώκαμεν τὴν γνώμην, καὶ γράμματα ἔχομεν.

‡ Triad 18. See page 53.

agreeable to the wishes of the natives in general, it however deprived them of much succour against the ravages of their Caledonian enemies. Yet were the native chieftains not altogether regardless of these invasions, or void of spirit and energy to oppose them. One of the most celebrated at this time was Cunedda Wledig, just mentioned, son of Edeyrn ab Padarn, by Gwawl, daughter of Coel Godebog. His original patrimony lay in Cumberland, and some neighbouring districts, where he began to exercise the prerogatives of a legitimate regulus, about A.D. 328.* He was also entitled, in right of his mother, to the headship of the clan of Coel Godebog in the south, Ceneu and Mor,† the proper representatives of that tribe, being ecclesiastics. The Church, as already intimated, found in him a munificent patron; and in this respect his children seem to have imitated his pious example, for they are ranked in the Triad as one of “the three holy families of the Isle of Britain.” In the latter part of his life Cunedda retired to Wales, where he died A.D. 389. A contemporary Bard has written his elegy, which is printed in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*. It is a spirited and graphic composition, written in pure and elegant Welsh, and evinces how little influenced by the Roman sway was the native genius of the Cymry. In the following extracts is an allusion to the Christian character of Cunedda:—

“ I, who am Taliesin the Druid,
Will award the song of praise to the baptized,
The Christian chief, the worshipper of the Wonderful One.
Where cliff and cliff meet, in the west,
Was the dread of Cunedda, the ardent in battle,
In *Caer Wair* and *Caer Liwelydd*.

* * * *

Before the communion‡ of Cunedda,
I might by a single nod obtain milch cows in the summer;

* *Cambrian Biography*.

† Mor, who was contemporary with Cunedda, is supposed to have founded the churches of Llanor or Llanvor in Carnarvonshire, Llanvor in Penllyn, Merionethshire, and Llanynys in Denbighshire.—See *Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 117.

‡ This seems to allude to the Catholic custom of administering the Eu-

I might have steeds in the winter;
 I might enjoy sparkling wine and oil;
 I might possess a troop of captives.

A.D. 383. Maesen Wledig (Maximus), who had the command of the imperial troops in Britain, and who had married Elen Luyddog, daughter of Eudav, withdrew his allegiance from Gratianus, and got himself proclaimed emperor by the soldiers under his authority. In his attempt to obtain actual possession of the empire, he was materially aided by the Britons, who to the number of twenty-one thousand, or, according to other accounts, sixty-one thousand, followed him into Gaul, under the command of Cynan, brother of Elen, and lord of Meiriadog in North Wales. Having there defeated Gratianus, Maesen rewarded his auxiliaries with ample gifts of land in Armorica, or Brittany, and conferred the throne upon Cynan.* He founded an archbishopric in London, which was the third establishment of the sort in Britain.† He was slain A.D. 388.

Not long after the above expedition, the remaining legions were summoned home, to assist in repelling the Huns, with the furious Alaric at their head, who were then invading Italy. This took place, according to Zosimus, in A.D. 408 or 409.‡

charist to a dying person. The holy communion in that case was peculiarly styled *ἐφῶδον*, or *riaticum*, that is, a preparation or provision for the journey into the next world. One of the Nicene canons enjoins that all penitents should have their necessary and final *ἐφῶδον* or *riaticum*, when they were on the point of death. (Concil. Nic. can. 13.) In like manner the council of Agde says, the *riaticum* shall not be denied to any dying penitent. (Conc. Agathen. can. 15.)—See *Bingham*, B. xv. ch. iv. sect. 9.

* Triads, 5, 14, 40; Brut Tysilio; Brut G. ab Arthur; Nennius.

† See page 81.

‡ Zosim. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 5, 6. His words on the subject are thus rendered: "The barbarians above the Rhine, invading all parts with unrestrained freedom, forced, of necessity, the inhabitants of the Island of Britain, and some of the Celtic tribes, to revolt from the dominion of the Romans, and to live independent, no longer obeying the Roman laws. The Britons, therefore, armed themselves, and facing the danger on their own account, delivered their cities from the barbarians that infested them. And all Armorica and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the example of the Britons, set themselves free in like manner; expelling the Roman governors, and setting up a native form of

The Romans, indeed, appear to have attempted the recovery of the island afterwards, but without success; and, ultimately, Honorius gave a sanction to its separation, when he addressed letters to the different states, exhorting them to defend themselves.

The final abdication of Britain by the Romans, is thus noticed in the Triads:—

“There were three invading tribes that came to the Isle of Britain, and went out of it. . . .

The third were the Cæsarians, who harrassed the island for more than four hundred years, till they went to Rome to oppose the irruption of the Black Horde,* from whence they never returned to the Isle of Britain, nor did any of them remain in the island, save women, and little children under nine years of age, and these became Cymry.”†

It may not be improper here to take a summary view of the Roman polity in Britain, and trace its effects upon the genius and habits of the people. A clear knowledge of civil affairs must contribute materially to the development of the national character of the Church.

The Romans had established thirty-three *civitates* or town-

government at their own liberty. This revolt of Britain and the Celtic tribes happened during the time of the usurpation of Constantine, when the barbarians had made an incursion through his neglect of the affairs of the empire.”—See *Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 106.

* The northern Huns of the Crimea, who ravaged Enrope, are here denominated the *black horde*, from their swarthy complexions; by which they were distinguished from the *Weise Gothen*, *Visigoths*, or “*White Goths*,” who invaded the eastern empire and Persia; as we learn from “*De Guigne's Histoire Gen. des Huns*,” vol. ii. p. 325, in “*Roberts's Early History of the Cymry*,” pp. 122, 123. Hales's “*Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles*,” p. 111.

“The characteristic epithet of the Triad is a decisive mark of its antiquity and fidelity. The Huns at this time were impelling the Goths on the Western Empire, and making inroads into Thrace. The term is such as would at first be made use of, and laid aside when the national term became familiar.”—*Roberts's Early History*, &c. p. 124.

† Triad 8.

ships throughout the British provinces, which possessed different ranks, and were entitled to different immunities. Foremost stood the colonies, of which there were nine; these were establishments of veteran legionaries, whose courage and faithful services the emperor rewarded by allotting to them a portion of the land which they had conquered. These formed each of them a miniature representation of the parent city; the same customs prevailing in both, the same laws being acknowledged, and the same titles conferred on the magistrates and rulers. The next in point of rank, but equal as to privilege, were the *municipia*, of which there were two in Britain. These enjoyed all the rights of Roman citizenship, used their own laws and customs, nor were they obliged to receive the Roman laws unless they chose it. There were ten towns invested with the *jus Latii*, or Latin right, and these had the power of electing their own magistrates, and of enacting their own laws. The remaining twelve were termed stipendiary, and were liable to the payment of tribute until they were relieved by Caracalla.*

We thus find that there was little in the Roman constitution as established in Britain fundamentally subversive of the ancient customs. The chief compulsory subjection of the natives appears to have consisted in the payment of tribute,† and the furnishing of soldiers for foreign service.‡ The towns and districts not included in the list just enumerated were doubtless permitted to use their own laws and usages. This we know was the case in Judea, in the time of our Saviour. That the Jews could exercise their own laws then is evident from the words of the

* See "Gleig's "History of England," vol. i.

† According to the Triads, the tribute exacted from the Britons amounted to "three thousand pieces of silver annually."—*Triad* 21.

‡ Camden names twelve such auxiliary troops furnished by Britain, to serve abroad, a few of which are the following:—

Ala Britonum iv. in Ægypto.

Cohors vii. Britonum in Armenia.

Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.

Invicti Juniores Britones intra Hispanias.

Britones seniores in Illyrico.

Roman governor : " Said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him *according to your law.*" (John xviii. 31.) And that they did really carry those laws sometimes into effect even in capital cases, appears moreover from the fate of St. Stephen, whom they stoned to death. And whereas, in answer to Pilate's words, the Jews said, " It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, take this expression to mean it was not lawful to do so at that time during the festival.* This concession to popular prejudice was part of the usual policy of the Romans, in order to secure their ascendancy where severer methods would have probably failed. From the same motive, they entrusted to a certain extent some of the British reguli, such as Præsatus and Cogidunus, with their former jurisdiction. Until the death of Lleirwg, the Silurian princes were permitted to retain the nominal sovereignty ; nor was a deviation from this course ventured upon before the extinction of the direct and lineal succession, Lleirwg dying without issue.†

The liberal measures of Agricola soon alienated the affections of those who inhabited the vicinities of Camalodunum and Venta Belgarum, and brought them to receive the Roman laws and customs. The change was greatly facilitated by the luxuries and refinements to which they were invited : these at the same time enervated their courage, and extinguished almost every spark of genuine patriotism within their bosoms.‡ This is, in a particular manner, true of the Coranians, who are expressly stated in the Triads, to have " coalesced with the Cæsarians so as to become one."§ The same feeling communicated itself to

* Williams on the Passion, p. 187.

† Bal. centur. 1 Script. Britan. cap. 30 ; Johan. Fordon. Scotichron. cap. 31 ; Boeth. Hist. lib. v. ; Galfrid. Monemuth. Hist. Britan. lib. 5, c. 1, 2.

‡ Tacitus ; Hanes Cymru, p. 88.

§ " The three powerful oppressions of the Isle of Britain which coalesced in one, and so became one oppression which deprived the Cymry of their privilege, crown, and lands. The first, the Coranians, who joined themselves to the Cæsarians until they became one. The second of the three were the Cæsarians. The third were the Saxons, and they coalesced with the other two in opposition to the Cymry. And this was from God to punish the three mighty presumptions of the nation of the Cymry. . . ."—*Triad 15.*

the Belgæ, and to the other states, in proportion principally to the want of legitimate interest in the land, and the amount or aptness of temptations in the policy of Rome, to which they were exposed. Thus *Britannia Prima*, exclusive of Cornwall, where these causes prevailed the most, seems to have yielded to their power in the greatest degree. In *Maxima Cæsariensis*, Roman influence was not so strong. The names of places still to be met with in the northern countries of England and parts of Scotland, together with the poems of Aneurin, Merddin, and Llywarch Hen, who were natives of those localities, and who wrote in the sixth century, prove that the language of the old inhabitants maintained its existence and purity in the midst of foreign domination. This fact may be taken as a conclusive evidence of the independent feeling of the natives at the time in question, for it is well known that the Romans used every possible method to introduce their own language among every people whom they conquered, and never considered their conquest complete unless this was effected.*

But the Cymry surpassed all the other tribes in their adherence to old customs. Being the first colony that arrived in Britain, they regarded themselves as the sovereign masters of the whole island, as the *Triad* expressly affirms: "No one has any right to it but the tribe of the Cymry, for they first settled in it."† The system of Bardism, which embodied the most genuine principles of patriotism, continually nourished this feeling, so that all the power and policy of Rome could make but a slight impression on it. Throughout the period of their dependance, this brave people preserved their former system of clanship, and Bards recorded their pedigrees, so that when the day of their emancipation arrived, they naturally and easily emerged into an actual possession of their primitive constitution in all its details. It does not appear that the Roman laws prevailed at any time among the Cymry to any considerable

* See an "Essay on the several invasions of Britain, and their effects on the character and language of the inhabitants," inserted in the "Transactions of the Cymmrodorion," vol. ii.

† *Triad* 1.

extent out of the municipal towns and military stations. Certain it is, that when they recovered their independence, no imperial edict whatever formed a part of their legal code. Their language was also pure, for the Latin expressions inserted in some of the poems of Taliesin are not the natural consequence of adulteration, as the context evidently shews. Moreover, the "Elegy of Cunedda," written whilst the Romans were yet in the island, betrays not the slightest symptoms of corruption; the whole is pure and energetic Cymraeg.

Nevertheless, the Cymry despised not real improvements which the Romans may have introduced; on the contrary, they practically adopted several of them, in respect of literature, architecture, husbandry, and manufacture. But this was not done to the entire exclusion of their own customs: so jealous were they of novelties, that their Bards were bound to perpetuate the knowledge of ancient practices, even when the mass of the people actually observed new and exotic regulations. After Bran and Lleirwg, for instance, had introduced the Roman books among their subjects, the old Coelbren and Coelvain were still preserved by the Bardic order, so that in consequence the former became ultimately distinguished by the name of Coelbren y *Beirdd* (the token stick of the *Bards*).^{*} But as the Bards were required to search after, and adopt the truth, on all occasions,[†] so accordingly, they embodied in their system the improvements mentioned above.

"Three things which a Bard ought to make with his own hands; his Coelbren, his Roll, and his Plagawd."[‡]

To an ordinary observer the perpetuation of the old British Coelbren and Coelvain would be superfluous after the introduction of the seemingly superior materials of the Romans. The

* See page 62.

† One of their favourite maxims was "Gwir yn erbyn y byd"—"Truth against the world."

‡ Williams's Essay on 'Coelbren y Beirdd,' p. 21. "When the Romans gained possession of this island, they brought here a plant called Plagawd, namely, a sedge, which was found in the land of Asia, and the land of Canaan."—*A Dialogue between a Disciple and his Teacher*. Ib. p. 39.

Bards, however, had a substantial reason for it, since “wood and stone can be had when and where plagawd cannot.”*

• It does not appear that the people generally presumed to practise any strange or foreign usage of a merely secular character, however excellent in itself, unless it was recommended to them by the example of their chiefs, or the sanction of a Bardic congress. Such was their veneration for authority.

* Ibid. p. 38. Llywelyn Sion, about 1580, declares that the Bards were really necessitated to resume the Coelbren, as the only possible means of preserving their literature during the oppression of the English, and particularly during the insurrection of Owain Glyndwr, when the government prohibited learning among the Cymry, and denied them the use of paper and other writing materials. Indeed, all the Bards of that age, and long afterwards, constantly allude to the Coelbren, as almost the only means of knowledge.—See p. 11.

CHAPTER IV.

RISE AND SUPPRESSION OF PELAGIANISM.

“A man that is an heretick after the first and second admonition reject.”—
TITUS iii. 10.

BRITAIN is said to have recovered its independence under Owain, the son of Maesen Wledig, who was elected to the sovereignty by the united voice of the country.* The expedition of Cynan, and the final withdrawal of the Roman legions, must necessarily have left the island in a very feeble and exposed state.† The soldiers who settled in Armorica are stated

* “The three conventional monarchs of the Isle of Britain the third, Owain, the son of Maesen Wledig, when the Cymry obtained the sovereignty from the emperor of Rome, under the privilege of their own nation,” &c.—*Triad* 34; also, *Tr.* 17. See page 50 (*note*).

† “The third general expedition was led out of this island by Elen Luyddog and her brother Cynan, the lord of Meiriadog, as far as Llydaw, where the men obtained land and property, and sovereignty, from the emperor Maesen Wledig, for assisting him against the Romans. And those men came from the land of Meiriadog, and from the land of Seisyllwg, and from the land of Gwyr and Gorwennydd; and none of them returned, but they remained in Llydaw, and in Ystre Gyvaelawg (*forte Neustrie & Valois*), having there formed themselves into a regular community. And because of this general expedition, the nation of the Cymry experienced a feebleness and deficiency of armed men, so that the Gwyddyl Fichti became an oppression to them.”—*Triad* 14.

“The three arrant traitors of the Isle of Britain,—Avarwy, the son of Lludd, the son of Beli Mawr (*the great*), who invited Julius Cæsar and the Romans into this island, and occasioned the Roman usurpation. That is, he and his men became conductors to the people of Rome, and received of them a gift of gold and silver annually; and thence it came to pass that the inhabitants of

in the Triad to have been from Wales, and we accordingly find that the Gwyddyl Fichti, or Irish Picts, were enabled, soon after, to land on the western coast, and to occupy the whole of North Wales, as well as the Dimetian counties of South Wales.* As Ireland was at this time generally Pagan,† there can be no doubt that these Pictish rovers were strangers to the doctrines of Christianity; it hence naturally follows, that their usurpation proved for a time unfavourable to the general growth of the Cambrian Church. We have, indeed, a palpable instance of their opposition to the sacred cause of learning and religion in the demolition of the college or monastery of Caerworgan, in

this island were obliged to pay three thousand pieces of money every year as a tribute to the Romans, until the time of Owain the son of Maesen Wledig, and it was he who prohibited that tribute. And under pretence of acquiescing in that act the Romans withdrew the best men of the Isle of Britain, who could be made serviceable in war, into the country of Aravia, and distant parts of other lands, and they returned not. And the Romans who were in the Isle of Britain went into Italy, so that only their women and little children remained behind. Thus were the Britons so weakened as not to be able to resist oppression and encroachment, from want of men and strength.”—*Triad* 21.

“Exin Britannia, omni armato milite, militaribusque copiis, rectoribus inquitur immanibus, ingenti juventute spoliata, quæ comitata vestigiis supradicti tyranni (*Maximi*) domum nunquam ultra rediit, et omnis belli usu ignara penitus, duabus primum gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis, Scotorum a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone, calcabilis, multes stupet gemetque per annos.”—*Gildas*, c. 14.

* The present counties of Cardigan, Pembroke, and Carmarthen. See *Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 109. “The Gwyddelians and the Fichti, that had overrun Gwynedd, from the time of Maxen Wledig.”—*The Genealogy of the Saints* cited in the *Cambrian Biography* sub voc. *Meigyr*. See also Brut Tysilio and Brut G. ab Arthur in *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 225. Bede, c. xii. § 28. Genuine History of the Britons. Moore's History of Ireland, chap. vii.

† “From the Irish Annals, about A.D. 400, it further appears, that several Christian churches had been founded in the south of Ireland, by the Irish saints, Kieran, Ailbe, Declan, and Ibar: viz. at Ardmore, and Lismore, and Emly, in Munster; and at Ossory, and Beg-Erin, in Leinster: but great part of the south, and the whole of the north and west provinces were still pagan, at that period.”—*Hales on the Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles*, &c p. 123.

South Wales, and the capture of its principal. It is worthy of observation, however, that He, whose providence brings good out of evil, converted this calamity into a real blessing for the Irish nation at large, for the person carried away by the depredators was none other than the great St. Patrick himself!*

Whilst we thus contemplate a depressed and persecuted Church in those localities, where the power of the Gwyddyl Fiehti was predominant, we cannot but rejoice at finding that the rightful monarch was a sincere Christian. The circumstance of his being considered a "saint"† by his countrymen would lead us to infer, that he rendered some particular service to the cause of Christianity. The same may be observed of his son Madog,‡ and his brothers Ednyved and Peblig, all of whom are likewise included in the Welsh Calender. The latter is considered to have founded the Church of Llanbeblig, near Carnarvon, which, however, he could not have easily accomplished before the Irish were deprived of their ascendancy in that part of the country.§ The enterprise of delivering Wales from their domination was undertaken between A.D. 420 and 430,|| by the sons of Cunedda, who so far succeeded as to recover a great part of South Wales, and the whole of North Wales, except Anglesey and some portions of Denbighshire. They divided the recovered country among themselves, and gave their own names to the districts they severally occupied, some of which names are retained to this day.¶ As these princes constitute one of "the

* "It was the glory of the emperor Theodosius, in conjunction with Cystennyn Llydaw, surnamed the Blessed, to have first founded the college of Illtyd, which was regulated by Balerus, a man from Rome; and Padrig, son of Mawon, was the principal of it, before he was carried away a captive by the Irishmen."—*Genealogy of the Saints*, translated in the *Cambrian Biography*, voce *Padrig*.

† *Cambrian Biography*, sub voc. *Owain*. Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 108. Owain was a Bard, see Triad 41.

‡ Rees's Essay, p. 133. The era of Madog is placed by the Professor between A.D. 433 and A.D. 462. The compiler of the "*Cambrian Biography*" says that he lived in the beginning of the fifth century.

§ Rees's Essay, p. 115.

|| The Silurian Achau y Saint (*Genealogy of the Saints*), and Nennius.

¶ "Thus Ceredig had Ceredigion, comprising the present county of Cardi-

three holy families of the Isle of Britain," it is natural to suppose that the Church enjoyed much prosperity under their auspices.

Another chieftain who contributed to the extension and stability of the Cambrian Church, about this period, was Brychan, son of Aulach, who was the son of Cormac mac Cairbre, one of the kings of Ireland. Aulach had, about A.D. 382, married Marchell, the sole heiress of her father Tudur or Tewdrig, king of Garthmadryn, in South Wales; and in right of his mother, Brychan succeeded about the year 400 to this principality, which from him was afterwards called Brycheiniog or Brecknock.* He is celebrated for having "brought up his children and grandchildren in learning and the liberal arts, that they might be able to shew the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry, wherever they were without the faith."† His death occurred about A.D. 450.‡

Whilst the Church, under such powerful protection, was "lengthening her cords, and strengthening her stakes" in the land, her internal peace was disturbed by the introduction of

gan, with a great part of Carmarthenshire; the word Ceredigion, being the plural of Ceredig, and meaning his followers. Arwystl had Arwystli, or the western part of Montgomeryshire. Dunod had Dunodig, or the northern part of Merioneth, with part of Carnarvonshire. Edeyrn had Edeyrnion, and Mael had Dinmael, both in the eastern part of Merioneth. Coel had Coelcion, and Dogvael had Dogveilin, both in Denbighshire. Rhuvon had Rhuvoniog, in Denbigh and Carnarvonshires. Einion had Caereinion, in Montgomery, and Oswal had Osweilin, on the borders of Shropshire. Tibion, the eldest son of Cunedda, died in the Isle of Man; but his son Meirion was one of these adventurers, and had Cantrev Meirion."—*Rees's Essay*, pp. 109, 110.

* Cambrian Biography; Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 110.

† Triad 18; see p. 53. In the same document they are styled one of "the three holy families of the Isle of Britain." "The three holy lineages of the Isle of Britain; the lineage of Bran, the son of Llyr; the lineage of Cunedda Wledig, and the lineage of Brychan Brycheiniog."—*Triad* 42, first series. "His children constitute one of the three holy families of the Isle of Britain; the second are the children of Cunedda Wledig; and the third, the children of Caw of Prydyn."—*Genealogy of the Saints*, second series, in *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. This particular extract is marked as if taken from "the book of Bodeulwyn, in Anglesey, the property of Ieuan ab Sion Wyn, which was written A.D. 1579."

‡ Cambrian Biography.

the errors of Pelagius. This heretic, whose original name was Morgan, was a native of Britain, and is generally supposed to have been educated at the monastery of Bangor Iscoed, in the present county of Flint.* About the end of the fourth century, he quitted the land of his birth, visited his countrymen in Brittany,† and thence travelled to Rome.‡ Here, in company with Celestius, an Irishman of great subtlety and readiness of wit, he began to propound principles which affected the Catholic doctrines of original sin and divine grace. Pelagius was particularly cautious at first in the manner of delivering his sentiments, and the consequence was that their heterodox character was not speedily discovered.§ At the approach of the Goths, A.D. 410, the heresiarchs were obliged to make a precipitate flight, and seek a refuge in Sicily. Thence they passed into Africa, where Celestius stayed some time in hopes of being ordained a presbyter in the Church of Carthage; but Pelagius soon left it, and proceeded to Palestine, where he was received with many marks of distinction by John of Jerusalem.|| He was summoned, A.D. 415, to give an account of his opinions before a synod of bishops held at Diospolis, or Lydda: but as no charge of heresy could there be fairly substantiated against him, he was fully acquitted.¶ The following year, however, both he and his associate were condemned as heretics, by a council held at Carthage, and also by another held at Milevum, in Numidia. The decrees of these synods were forwarded to Rome; but Zozimus, the new pope, would not sanction them until the arch-heretics had been again condemned by a more numerous and august council, which was convened at Carthage, when he thought fit to acquiesce in the decisions of the African prelates.**

* Ranulphus Cestrensis in Polychronic, lib. 4. cap. 31.

† Leland. de Scrip.

‡ Augustin. de Peccat. Origin. contra Pelag. c. 21.

§ Ibid.

|| Id. de gest. Palæstin. contra Pelag. c. 22. Ep. 89, ad Hilarium. Usher, pp. 127, &c.

¶ Augustin. Retract. lib. 2, c. 47.

** Id. Epist. 106, 92. Concil. Carthagin. ad Innocent. epist. ordine inter Augustinianas 90. Zozim. ep. 101, tom. i. Concil. p. 611.

Thus the eastern and western Churches were now unanimous in their condemnation of those doctrines which had already unsettled the faith of thousands in Christendom. In addition to this, the emperors Honorius and Theodosius issued their decrees, whereby both Pelagius and Celestius, with their followers, were formally banished from Rome.

It is supposed that Pelagius, after his final excommunication, remained silent, and died somewhere in the east in obscurity, as we hear no more about him.

The principal opponents of our countryman were Jerome and Augustine, the latter of whom had the candour, notwithstanding, to speak most highly of his moral character and piety. On the other hand, he found an able advocate in John, patriarch of Jerusalem, and also in his successor, Prailius; and both Innocent and Zozimus, the Roman pontiffs, were his friends.*

We have already intimated that the Pelagian heresy consisted mainly in a denial of original sin, and of the necessity of divine grace to perform good works. These tenets, so agreeable to human nature, gained, as may be expected, many converts, even after their authors had been silenced. Their progress in Gaul was so rapid and extensive, as to induce the emperor Valentinian, A.D. 425, to issue his mandate to Patroclus, archbishop of Arles, enjoining him to convene all the bishops who entertained them; and provided they did not recant within twenty days, they were to be cast into banishment.†

It is supposed that, in consequence of this edict, many came over to Britain, and amongst them Agricola, son of bishop

* See Usher, cap. viii. ix. x.; where numerous authorities are cited in reference to the events noticed above.

Pelagius is said to have written the following works: "A commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, attributed to St. Jerome; a letter to Demetria, and some others in the last tome of St. Jerome; a Confession of Faith to Pope Innocent; Fragments of a Treatise, of the power of Nature and Free Will, in St. Augustine. These are extant. He wrote likewise a treatise of the Power of Nature, and several books concerning Free-will, which are lost."—*Collier's Eccles. Hist.* B. i.

† Concilior. Galliæ, tom. i. p. 54. Et Append. Cod. Theodosian. edit Paris. ann. 1631, p. 16. Usher, cap. xi.

Severianus,* who is mentioned as the first who taught Pelagianism among the people of this land. Agricola was assisted by others, probably British Armoricans, as appears from Prosper, who speaks of the heresy as having been planted here by “the enemies of God’s grace returning to the soil from whence they sprang” (*solum suæ originis occupantes*).† It is natural to think, that they had many followers, for the fame of Pelagius’s virtues and talents would alone recommend his tenets to the particular notice of his enthusiastic countrymen. Moreover, as the Irish sway had recently checked the due progress of Christian education among the generality of the Cymry, it is possible that the minds of many nominal members of the Church had been tainted in a greater or less degree with the metaphysical notions of their masters, and, therefore, were more easily inclined to imbibe Pelagianism.‡ We must also recollect that most, if not all, of the Cambrian clergy were Bards, and that some of the theories of Pelagius, about the freedom of the will, agreed essentially with certain exploded maxims of Druidism.§ A system of Christianity which embodied such doctrines would be hailed with rapture by some of the warmest admirers of national antiquity.

In accordance with these inferences, we find that the new tenets did in reality become extensively popular in our country.

* Bede’s Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 17. Prosper in Chron. Florent. et Dionys. Cons.

† Prosper contra Collator.

‡ According to Garnier (in his Dissert. upon Pelagianism), and Vossius (in his Histor. Pelag.), Pelagius himself was an Irish-Scot. That there was some affinity between the Druidical tenets of the Irish and Pelagianism, appears probable from the tenor of the British Chronicle inserted in the Myv. Arch. vol. ii. In one copy, it is stated: “At that time, came Bishop Garmon and Lupus of Troyes, to preach the word of God to the Britons, for Christianity was corrupted ever since the pagans were amongst them.” At any rate, the settlement of those people in the country was one great cause of the spread of the heresy amongst the natives.

§ The Druids maintained that in the state of humanity good and evil are so equally balanced, that *liberty* takes place, and the will is free: whence a man becomes accountable for his actions, having a power of attaching himself either to the good or the evil, as he may or may not subject his propensities to the control of reason and unsophisticated nature. See *Introduction*.

Nevertheless, the leading ecclesiastics adhered steadfastly to "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," though, for obvious reasons, they were not sufficiently learned to confute all the subtle propositions of their adversaries. They, therefore, applied for assistance to their more experienced brethren in Gaul. According to *Liber Landavensis*,* the Britons had to send messengers *frequently* to that country ere the required aid was granted them, a statement which refutes altogether the idea that the mission of the anti-Pelagian champions originated with the bishop of Rome. It was A.D. 429, that a synod of Gallican prelates was convened, in which the case of the applicants was taken into consideration, and it was determined that Garmon (Germanus) bishop of Auxerre, and Bleiddian (Lupus) bishop of Troyes, should both forthwith visit Britain in person.† Garmon was of Welsh extraction, being the son of Rhedyw, and uncle of Emyr Llydaw an Armorican prince,‡ and on that account was much better qualified for the object he had in view than if he had been a stranger to

* "Sæpe tamen ante, missis legatis a Britannis ad eos implorantibus auxilium contra tam execrabile periculum, quia prævæ doctrinæ hæreticorum non acquiescebant, neque tamen confundere valebant."—p. 66.

† Constant. de Vita Germani, lib. i. cap. 19. Bede, lib. i. cap. xvii. § 39. The synod is supposed to have been held at Troyes. Garnerius (diss. 2, c. 21) affirms that the acts of it, which sent Germanus and Lupus, are still in existence, with the instructions given them at their coming hither. The date adopted above is from Prosper.

‡ Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 123; Cambrian Biography. It would appear that Armorica was not yet confined to the country between the Seine and Loire. Nennius says, that the possessions given by Maximus to his British auxiliaries extended "a stagno quod est super verticem Montis Jovis usque ad civitatem quæ vocatur Cantguic, et usque ad cumulum occidentalem, id est, Cruc Ochidient." Mons Jovis is the great St. Bernard: Cangtuic, or Quoentavic was situated upon the river Quenta (now Carche) near the monastery of St. Josse and Estaples. It is mentioned by Heddius (Vit. Wilf. c. xxiv), Beda (Hist. Ecel. iv. 1.), and by various other writers. The position of Cruc Ochidient is not known. In the Life of Oudoceus also, inserted in the Register of Llandaf, it is stated, that in his time the kingdom of Armorica reached as far as the Alps. (p. 123.) This circumstance very clearly explains the intimacy which subsisted between the churches of both countries at the time under consideration.

the language of the country.* It is not clear whether or not his colleague could establish any such relationship. If he could, it would seem, however, that by residence abroad he had legally forfeited the rights of a freeborn Cymro, for a son of his is represented in the following Triads as a prince of vassal or alien origin.

“Three kings who had been vassals;—Gwryat, the son of Gwryan, in the north; Cadavael, the son of Cynvedw, in Gwynedd (*Venedotia*), and Hyveidd, the son of Bleiddig, in South Wales.”†

“The three alien princes of the Isle of Britain:—Gwrgai, the son of Gwrien, in the North; Cadavael, the son of Cynvedw, in Gwynedd; and Hyvaidd Hir, the son of Saint Bleiddian, in Morganwg (*Glamorgan*); that is, they were invested with principality on account of their praiseworthy and gracious acts and principles.”‡

These “apostolical priests,” as they are styled by Constantius, immediately on their arrival in Britain applied themselves to their appointed task with zeal and devotion. They preached in the churches, and fields, and highways, with such success, that multitudes of the heterodox were convinced, and the weak and wavering confirmed on all sides. The heads of the heresy having at first kept out of the way, were at length compelled, probably by a sense either of shame or despair, to meet their antagonists, and discuss the merits of their different tenets at a public conference. At this meeting, which, as we are informed

* Though there is no reason to suppose that the original dialect of Gallia was essentially different from that of Britain. Thus the Historical Triads relate of the primitive Cymry, that they came to “the Isle of Britain, and to Llydaw, where they settled” (Tr. 4); and of the Lloegrians, and Brython, who subsequently emigrated from the latter place to Britain, it is said, that they “had sprung from the primitive race of the Cymry, and were of *one language and one speech*.” (Tr. 5.) So Bleiddian, perhaps, had he been a mere Gallican native, might have been able to converse intelligibly with the people of Britain. Claudius Menardus, however, makes him to be a brother of Germanus; Petrus Equilinus, a kinsman. According to Eucherius, he was a brother of the celebrated Vincentius Lirinensis. (*Usher*, p. 175.)

† Triad 76, first series.

‡ Triad 26, third series.

by Mattheus Florilegus,* was held at Verulam, the victory was decisive on the part of the Catholics; for Garmon and Bleiddian brought reason, learning, and Scripture to bear against the arguments and sophistry of the Pelagians with such powerful effect, as to put them completely to silence. The audience received the result with acclamations, and could scarcely refrain from laying violent hands on the defeated party.†

Soon after, the Gallican champions contributed to a victory of a different kind, yet bloodless. The Saxons‡ and Piets had joined their forces, and were advancing upon Wales, when, at the earnest request of the Cymry, Garmon and Bleiddian entered the camp. It was the sacred season of Lent, and the attention of the army was particularly directed to the due solemnization of the approaching festival of Easter: a church was formed for the occasion, of interwoven branches of trees; the bishops preached daily, the unbaptised eagerly sought the laver of regeneration, whilst all, casting aside their arms, trusted in the especial protection of the Lord of Hosts. When the paschal solemnities were over, Garmon, at the head of the Cambrian soldiers, retired into a defile to wait the arrival of the enemies, who, having been apprised of their unwarlike situation, were now hastening their march towards the camp, in confident anticipation of an easy conquest. When they came

* Flor. Hist. ad annum 446. According to Hector Boëthius, it was held in London. The former, however, seems to be right, being supported by ancient documents in the church of St. Albans.—*Usher*, cap. xi.

† Constant. lib. i. cap. 23.

‡ It is evident from other authorities that the Britons had been disturbed by Saxon parties before the time of Hengist. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus informs us that the case was so in the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I. And under the emperor Honorius, Claudian introduces Britain making this panegyric upon Stilichon:

Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere; ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum SAXONA ventis.

It appears further from the *Notitia Imperii*, that a “comes Saxonici littoris” had been expressly appointed by the Romans to guard the British coasts against this foreign enemy. See *Usher*, p. 181; *Collier*, B. i.; and *Stillingfleet*, p. 304.

up, the prelates shouted aloud, the army took up the cry, which was reverberated by the rocks and hills—ALLELUIA, ALLELUIA, ALLELUIA. The Saxons and Piets, struck with panic at the unexpected sound, threw down their arms, and fled in every direction, leaving the Christians undisputed masters of the field.*

The scene of this transaction is laid near Mold, Flintshire, at a place still called Maes Garmon, or Garmon's field, and the Church of Llanarmon, in the neighbourhood, is supposed to occupy the very spot where the wattled edifice stood, in which the army celebrated the services of Easter.†

Bleiddian appears to have been less obtrusive than Garmon, yet he founded the churches Llanvleiddian Vawr and Llanvleiddian Vach, both in the county of Glamorgan,‡ and most probably in the very territory which was conferred upon his son Hyvaidd.

The two bishops may have stayed in Britain about two or three years, after which, having accomplished the particular object of their mission, they returned to their respective dioceses in Gaul. But no sooner had they departed, than the Church was exposed to fresh danger from the barbarians, who had renewed their attack, and were once more spreading devastation through the land.§ Cyhelyn,|| Archbishop of London, A.D. 433, in the name of his countrymen, applied to Aldor, king of Armorica, who had married a sister of Garmon, for assistance, which was readily granted him in the person of Cystennyn (Constantine), the king's own brother, and a large body of

* Constant. lib. i. cap. 28.

† Britan. Eceles. Antiq. p. 179. Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 125.

‡ Essay, &c. p. 126.

§ This was probably the third devastation described by Gildas, the second having taken place about the departure of the Romans.

|| So named in Brut. G. ab Arthur and two other chronicles. In Brut Ty-silio, he is called *Cyhylyn*. The Latin version of Geoffrey of Monmouth makes him into *Guitelinus*; and William Caxton into *Gosselinus*: and all represent him as Bishop of *Londou*. It is observable, however, that in Iolo Morganwg's list of the primitive bishops of Llandaf, we have the names of *Cyhelyn* and *Gwythelyn* mentioned as the ninth and tenth who presided over that ancient see.

troops. On his arrival, Cystennyn was elected by the confederated states, supreme monarch of the island, and generalissimo of the combined forces, and hence has he been distinguished in the Triad as one of "the three foreign sovereigns of the Isle of Britain."* The epithet "Bendigaid" (*Blessed*) has, moreover, been bestowed upon him in consideration of the services which he rendered to the cause of religion. Some of these are specified in the Welsh documents. In the "Genealogy of the Saints," he is said to have, in conjunction with the emperor Theodosius first founded the college of Caerworgan.† As there is reason to believe that this was Theodosius the Great, who was a warm patron of the interests of virtue and learning, as well as a zealous promoter of Christianity, the event alluded to must have happened between the year 388, when Maximus was slain, and 395, when Theodosius died. Cystennyn was then a young man, and there is nothing improbable in his being in Britain during a period of his early life, when we duly consider his family and kindred. Indeed, Zozimus and Orosius clearly assert that he once was here, and afterwards departed hence into Gaul.‡ It would appear, moreover, that he had held an office of distinction under the Romans, for Gildas describes him as wearing the purple, and Bede as bearing "regium nomen et insigne."§ He was also married, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, to a lady sprung from a noble race of Romans.|| Hence Gildas and Bede speaking of his son Emrys

* "The three foreign kings of the Isle of Britain; Gwrddyled Gawr (*the giant*), Morien Varvawg (*bearded*), and Cystennyn Vendigaid (*the blessed*)."—*Triad* 44.

† See page 97, *note*. The infirmities of age may have induced Owain to give up the sovereignty, or perhaps he was dead.

‡ Zozim. lib. vi. P. Oros. hist. lib. 7. cap. 40.

§ Gildas, cap. 25. Bede lib. i. cap. xvi.

|| Galfrid. Monemuth. lib. 6. Brut Tysilio; Brut. G. ab Arthur. Of these Bruts or Chronicles which are inserted in the second volume of the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, it may be proper to observe that, at the conclusion of the former, are added the following words: "I, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford; did turn this book out of Welsh into Latin; and in my old age, I turned it the second time out of Latin into Welsh." The editors are of opinion, that Walter having translated the said chronicle, which is meagre and unadorned, into

Wledig (Ambrosius Aurelius), represent him as probably of Roman descent,—“forte Romanæ gentis.” These circumstances sufficiently account for the intimacy between Theodosius and Cystennyn, and their co-operation in the advancement of learning and religion.

The British monarch is stated, moreover, to have established the college of Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, with the assistance of Meirig ab Tewdrig, regulus of the district.* The church of Llangystennyn, near Conway, is also supposed to owe its foundation to him.† He died in the year 443, and was succeeded in the sovereignty by his son Constans.

Under the protection of Meirig ab Tewdrig, the cathedral church of Llandaf was rebuilt, and the said king endowed it liberally with divers territories, privileges, and rents, the grants of which are recorded in the register of that see.‡

A.D. 447. In consequence of the revival of Pelagianism, Garmon, at the request of the Britons, paid a second visit to this country, accompanied by Severus, Bishop of Triers, who was the disciple of Bleiddian. On this occasion, the prelates were not content with argument and exhortation alone, but proceeded, with the consent of the community at large, to act

Latin, a more elegant Latin version, with poetical embellishments, was produced by Geoffrey, and that this it was which Walter retranslated in his old age, and which is printed second in order under the name of G. ab Arthur. At the end of this, are the words: “The kings of the Saxons, who followed in succession, I have commended to William of Malmsbury, and to Henry of Huntingdon; and to those I have thus commended to write of the kings of the Saxons, and to desist with regard to the Welsh, since they are not possessed of that book, which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, turned into Latin; and he treated faithfully and completely of the before-mentioned British princes, and all that I have again translated from the Welsh into Latin.” The different readings of two other chronicles are also inserted under the signatures of A. and B. That marked ‘A’ is said to agree in many parts, word for word, with Brut G. ab Arthur; but the one under the signature ‘B’ is a different composition altogether from either of the others, but agreeing, nevertheless, in general as to the subject.

* Cambrian Biography voce *Meirig*.

† Rees’s Essay, &c. p. 128.

‡ Liber Landavensis, pp. 621, 310, 311.

upon the Valentinian edict, whereby the principal teachers of the heresy were sent into exile.*

Though this fact remarkably evinces the subordination of the civil states in general, to the authority and influence of the Church, we must not omit to mention two instances in connection with the history of Garmon of an opposite character. In the one case, Benlli,† king of Powys, insolently refused to admit the saint within his city, or to afford him accommodation for the night, when he had come with the express purpose of preaching to him the word of God. In the other, Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern), a chief, whose dominions extended along the vale of the river Wye,‡ endeavoured, in a council of his countrymen, to palm upon him the fruit of his own incest. But these are exceptions, and there were circumstances attending them which still attested the ecclesiastical power. Benlli met with his death on the second night; and Cadell, his swineherd, who had offered Garmon that hospitality which had been denied by his master, was, in accordance with the prophetic blessing of his guest, elected to succeed him in his principality. It would appear that Cadell upon this, appropriated a portion of land to the service of the Lord, for the church of Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog, founded by the saint, stands in the district which

* Constant. lib. ii. Bed. lib. i. cap. xxi.

† In one copy of Nennius, he is styled *Benli in regione Ial*; other versions have *in regione Dalreatae*; *Belinus*; *Beluni*; and *Benty*. It is not very evident whether Benlli Gawr, or his son Beli, is here meant. In favour of the latter, besides the support which it has from one, if not two copies of Nennius, it is alleged that otherwise the statement as to the immediate succession of Cadell, would be untrue. But to this it may be replied, that there is no evidence that Beli, though a powerful chieftain, succeeded to the principality of his father. If we understand here the son, it becomes probable that the Church of Llanarmon was founded near the scene of his death, on a spot of ground granted for the occasion by the new prince, Cadell; for it is inferred from the Englynion y Beddau (*Stanzas of the Graves*—Myr. Arch. i. 82), that Beli was buried in Llanarmon yn Ial.

‡ According to Nennius, his territories included the northern part of the present counties of Radnor and Brecon; and some of the Welsh genealogists state, that he was the regulus of Erging or Archenfield, in Herefordshire.

might have been a part of his newly-acquired possessions.* Again, Gwrtheyrn's villainy was detected, and he was cursed by Garmon, and the whole body of clergy assembled; and further, his son Gwrthevyr (Vortimer), to appease the Gallican prelate, gave him the land, upon which he had suffered the insult, to be his for ever. A church was erected on the spot, which, to this day, goes by the name of St. Harmon.†

In addition to the churches already mentioned, Garmon founded also the church of Llanvechain,‡ in the county of Montgomery, but whether during his first or second mission, it is not easy to determine. His last visit must have been of short continuance, for he is said to have died in Italy, A.D. 448.§

The same year, Gwrtheyrn, who had participated in the councils of Constans, treacherously slew him, compelled his brothers, Emrys and Uthyr, to leave the country, and assumed the supreme command in his own person. The two brothers fled to Armorica, where they were kindly received by Budec, the king. Gwrtheyrn, with a view to secure himself against any power which might be raised in favour of them on the continent, and also to repel the prevailing irruptions of the Gwyddyl Fichti, entered into an alliance with some of the Saxon tribes. He gave them the isle of Thanet for a residence, married Rhonwen, the daughter of Hengist, one of their leaders, and settled upon her the territory of Kent, and upon the son he afterwards had by her, he agreed to bestow the monarchy of Britain.|| The Saxons took advantage of such impolitic measures, and having received a considerable accession to their numbers from Germany, peremptorily threatened, in case their privileges were not still more extended, to sever the union, and invade the country on their own account. This roused the indignation of the British people, who, when they could not prevail upon the sovereign to dismiss his arrogant confederates, unanimously forsook him, and transferred their allegiance to his son, Gwrthevyr, A.D. 456. And now commenced that war be-

* Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 130. † Nennius, 32, &c. and 39, &c.

‡ Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 131.

§ Sigon. de Occidental. Imper. lib. 13. Usher, p. 204.

|| Triads 48, 91 (first series); Tr. 6 (second series); Tr. 21, 37, 53, 100 (third series). Nennius, sec. 31. Brut Tysilio. Brut G. ab Arthur.

tween the two nations, which forms such a prominent part in the history of Britain. Under Gwrtheyyr the Britons were mainly victorious, but his reign lasted a short time only, being poisoned in the year 460,* through the contrivance of Rhonwen, when his father, by some unaccountable means, re-ascended the throne. At the instigation of Rhonwen, her countrymen made their appearance again, and stipulated with the king that a congress of the nobles on both sides, should be held, at which to concert anew terms of solid amity and alliance between them. At this meeting, held on the plains of *Caer Caradawe* (Salisbury), the Saxons, however, at a given signal from Hengist, seized their daggers, which they had concealed under some part of their dress, and with them barbarously massacred all the unarmed and unsuspecting Britons, except Eidiol, earl of Gloucester, and Gwrtheyrn himself, who was taken prisoner. The royal captive, on giving up a considerable part of his possessions, recovered his liberty, and fled into his patrimonial dominions in Wales, where he was followed and put to death by Emrys and his brother, at the head of a large army of Cymry and Armoricans.†

Gwrtheyrn is branded in the Triads as one of “the three arrant traitors,”‡ one of “the three notorious drunkards,”§ and one of “the three persons who, with their posterity, were subjected to disgrace, and divested of privilege for ever.”|| It is also intimated, that he was privy to the design of Hengist in the “plot of the long knives,” which is there designated as one of “the three treacherous meetings of the Isle of Britain.”¶

The reign of Gwrtheyrn was a stormy period for the British Church. The Saxons, whether they be regarded civilly as friends or foes, were equally adverse to her welfare with the Picts,** whilst the monarch, himself an obstinate pagan, viewed the sacrilegious insults of both with indifference, if not complacency. The Saxon treaty was, as it were, originally ratified with the unrevenged blood of *Vodin* of London, which was shed

* Mat. Westin.

† Brut Tysilio; Brut G. ab Arthur. Nennius.

‡ Triad 21.

§ Triad 37.

|| Triad 100.

¶ Triad 20.

** Perhaps more so, as the Picts were now partially instructed in the truths of Christianity. The mission of Ninian, the great apostle of the south Picts, is placed about the year 412.

by Hengist, because the archbishop reproved the marriage which his sovereign had contracted with Rhonwen.* Indeed, those German tribes seem to have had all along the extinction of the national religion especially in their view, and their efforts to gain their purpose in that respect, wherever their power predominated, were crowned with most awful success. Gildast applies to their devastations the words of the Psalmist: "They have cast fire into thy sanctuary, they have defiled by casting down the dwelling-place of thy name to the ground." (Ps. lxxiv. 7.) "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled." (Ps. lxxix. i.) "The priests," says Bede,† "were slain at the altars; the prelates and people together were destroyed by fire and sword, and no man dared to give them burial." But the disaster was confined chiefly to the south-eastern districts of England, and was even there partly and temporarily repaired by Gwrthevyr during his short supremacy. We learn from Mattheus Florilegus and G. ab Arthur, that as he overcame his enemies he restored to the natives their lost property, rebuilt the churches which had been demolished, and treated men of religion with great honour.§ Gwrthevyr, probably on account of such services, has been surnamed "Bendigaid" (*the blessed*), and is distinguished in the Triads, as one of "the three canonized kings of the Isle of Britain."||

But Cymru was not, in the meanwhile, in a state of perfect repose, nor even altogether free from the influence of Saxon tyranny. The Gwyddyl, both in the northern and western regions, though in the latter their power had been recently very much circumscribed, continued still as thorns in the sides of the natives. The interest of the Church, however, was actively promoted by Cynllo, son of Mor, who founded five churches in a district comprehending parts of the counties of Radnor and Cardigan, where, it would seem, he once exercised the authority of a regulus;¶ by Cadell Deyrnllug,** prince of

* Hect. Boeth. Scotor. histor. lib. 8.

† Sect. 24.

‡ Lib. i. cap. xv.

§ Usher, cap. xii. Brut G. ab Arthur. Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 252.

|| Cambrian Biography.

¶ In the old editions of the Welsh Common Prayer, he is styled Cynllo Vrenhin, or the king.—*Rees's Essay*, &c. p. 133.

** The prince alluded to in page 108, as having succeeded Benlli in his dominions. "Ipse est Catell Durnluc." Nennius sect 35.

the Vale Royal, and the upper part of Powys; by Tewdrig, king of Glamorgan,* and his son Meirig; by Cystennyn Gorneu, a Cornish chieftain, supposed to have been the founder of Llangystennyn, in Ergyng or Archenfield, and Llangerniw on the banks of the Dour; and his sons Erbin and Digain, to the latter of whom the foundation of the church of Llangerniw, in Denbighshire, is attributed;† by Cystennyn Vendigaid, as already described; by Gwrtheyyr's brothers, Edeyrn, Aerdeyrn, and Elldeyrn,‡ whose sphere of labour was in the county of Glamorgan; by Gynyr of Caer Gawch, who gave all his lands to the Church; by Tudwal Bevr, a bishop in the line of Cynan Meiriadog;§ by Brynach Wyddel (*the Irishman*), the spiritual instructor of Brychan, and the founder of the churches of Llanvrynach, Brecknockshire, Llanvrynach, alias Penllin, Glamorganshire, Llanboidy, Carmarthenshire, and Llanvernach, Dinas, and Nevern, Pembrokeshire;|| and most of all by the families of Cunedda and Brychan, who, with the household of Bran, it will be remembered, are emphatically styled “the three holy families of the Isle of Britain.”

The progeny of Brychan employed themselves chiefly in the diffusion of Christian doctrines and the establishing of churches, whilst those of Cunedda, in the situation of military chieftains, acted more particularly as the defenders of the faith. The latter, it is true, rank somewhat prior in the order of time, but as the members were numerous on both sides, there were several who were necessarily contemporaries. Brychan's family consisted of twenty-four men, and twenty-five women;¶ however,

* One of “the three canonized kings.” In fighting against the Saxons, he received a wound, and, expecting it to be mortal, he requested that a church should be raised on the spot where he should expire. A church was erected accordingly by his son, Meirig, which was called from the circumstance *Merthyr Tewdrig*, now Mathern.—*Rees's Essay*, §c. p. 184.

† *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 314, 315; *Rees's Essay*, &c. p. 134.

‡ *Rees's Essay*, p. 186.

§ *Ib.* pp. 162, 133.

|| “It may also be inferred, from the analogy of similar cases, that Henry's Moat, and Pontfaen, in the neighbourhood of the three latter, which Ecton ascribes to St. Bernard, should be attributed to Brynach, whose parishes would thus form a continuous endowment, which was afterwards disturbed by the Norman Lords of Cemmaes.” (*Ib.* p. 156) Brynach is said to have married Corth or Cymorth, one of the daughters of Brychan.

¶ Brychan was married three times. “Three wives had Brychan, namely,

in this unusual number both chronology and the expression of the Triad will require us to include his grandchildren.

The triadic statement indicates that these "shewed the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry wherever they were without the faith." Now, it is not to be hence inferred that the Christian religion was not yet nationally or generally received in Wales, or that a system of heathenism was recognised to any considerable extent by a portion of the natives. The strong position in which we have just viewed the Church is opposed to such a conclusion. Nevertheless, the political convulsions of the times would necessarily exclude some of the Cymry for a time from participation in the initiatory sacrament of Christianity, as had been the case probably with the soldiers whom Garmon baptised previous to the "Alleluatic Victory." Some having been incorporated into the mystical body of Christ, would, for the same cause be left without religious instruction—without "the benefit of absolution,"—and without spiritual food to "strengthen and refresh their souls," and so "had a name that they lived, and were dead." Others, again, from their intercourse with the Gwyddyl Fiehti would have their Christian principles corrupted, and would accordingly exhibit a sort of mixed creed, like that of the Pelagians. In any of these respects, might the people be properly said to be "without the faith." But it is very probable that the reference in the Triad is more particularly, if not entirely, made to the Irish usurpers just mentioned, who, from their residence in Wales, might have been mistaken for the "nation of the Cymry."* This hypo-

Eurbrawst, Rhybrawst, and Peresgri." (*Genealogy of the Saints.*) The names of his progeny were: (*Males*) Cynawg, Cledwyn, Dingad, Arthen, Cyvlevyr, Rhain, Dyvnan, Gerwyn, Cadog, Mathaiarn, Pascen, Nefai, Pabiali, Llechen, Cynbryd, Cynvran, Hychan, Dyvrig, Cynin, Dogvan, Rhawin, Rhun, and Cledog. (*Females.*) Gwladus, Arianwen, Tanglwst, Meehell, Nevyn, Gwawr, Gwrgon, Eleri, Lleian, Nevydd, Rhiengar, Goleuddydd, Gwenddydd or Gwawrddydd, Tydieu, Elined, Ceindryeh, Gwen, Cenedlon, Cymorth, Dwynwen, Ceinwen, Tydvyl, Envail, Hawystl, and Tybie.—*Ib.*

* Likely it is that Benlli and Beli, mentioned at page 108, were amongst the Gwyddyl thus confounded with the native Cymry. The Rev. Mr. Price, in his "Hanes Cymru," cites a document which describes Beli as fighting against Meilyr; and it is evident from the "Genealogy of the Saints," that this Meilyr had a prominent part in the expulsion of the Irish. (See *Cambrian Bio-*

thesis is remarkably supported by the fact, that the several districts in which the family of Brychan established churches were, at the time, the principal settlements of the Gwyddyl Fiehti. For though these territories had been in general subjected to the jurisdiction of the sons of Cunedda, there were some still inhabited by numbers of the aliens, who had pertinaciously maintained their ground. They were not fully expelled, until Caswallon Law Hir (*with the long hand*), attended by his cousins Meigyr, Cynyr, and Meilyr, grandsons of Cunedda, drove them out of Mona, or Anglesey,—then “the Cymry took courage, and chased them from every other part of Gwynedd, so that none remained in the country but such of them as were made slaves.”* Besides, a family whose origin was Irish, would naturally turn their attention first to the spiritual state of their own kindred, and would be much more likely to gain converts from amongst them, than from amongst the native Cymry, especially at a time when both people regarded each other with the eye of jealousy and hatred.

But with a view to the endowment, which, in a certain degree, the foundation of churches necessarily involves, it would be expected that those which the children and grandchildren of Brychan established would be chiefly situate within their patrimonial possessions, or in those localities over which they may have gained royal authority. Accordingly, we find that they founded twenty-two† in Brecknockshire and its borders. The patrimony of Brychan was inherited by his sons Clydwyn and Rhain Dremrudd, who were the only members of the family

graphy, voce *Meigyr*. Dr. O. Pughe asserts that Beli introduced several strange and irregular articles into the Bardic code of the country, which would be quite in accordance with his character as an Irishman. He further infers, apparently without the least suspicion that the chieftain in question was otherwise than a Cymro, that according to his new regulations, *the right of the Bards to the Christian priesthood* was excluded. *Llywarch Hen*, intr. p. lx. and *Diction.* voce *Beli*. On such an hypothesis, the whole statement of Nennius becomes perfectly intelligible.

* “Genealogy of the Saints,” quoted in the “Cambrian Biography,” voce *Meigyr*. Meigyr and Meilyr are both included in the Silurian catalogue of Saints.—*Rees’s Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 166.

† Including those established by Brynach and Gastayn, the spiritual instructors of Brychan, and his eldest son Cynog respectively.—*Ib.* 157. In all they amount to about fifty-five.

that embraced a military life. The former established besides a certain dominion over the counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke which were occupied by the Gwyddyl Fiehti, and there were founded sixteen churches. Three of the family are known to have settled in the Isle of Man, and some in Anglesey, in both of which places there are Christian edifices dedicated to their memory; but how they came to have any territorial interest in those countries is not equally clear. Most of the remaining churches which members of this family established are situated together in the county of Denbigh.*

In some places, however, the requisite sites might have been granted by the descendants of Cunedda, and other Christian chieftains, who would rejoice in thus having it in their power to promote the interest of the Church. But more easily would they be obtained, in certain instances, by means of the matrimonial alliances contracted by some of the daughters and grand-daughters of Brychan with Northwallian princes. Thus we read that Gwenddydd was married to Cadell Deyrnllug, prince of Vale Royal and the upper part of Powys;† that Arianwen, probably a grand-daughter, became the wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, of Powys;‡ and that Gwen married Llyr Merini, son of Einion Yrth prince of Caereinion.§ Some of the converted Irish might also have bestowed upon the church a part of their usurped property, particularly in those places where their power was greatest, such as the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, Anglesey, and the Isle of Man.

In their missionary undertakings, this family had to encounter occasionally many and great difficulties, and some of them are even ranked as martyrs. It is observable, however, that no martyrdom is recorded as having been brought upon them by the native Cymry, but merely by the Irish and Saxons, which confirms the inference that these, if not exclusively, yet more particularly, were the infidels of the Triad. Thus Cynog, the eldest son of Brychan, was murdered by the pagan Saxons, upon a mountain called the Van in the parish of Merthyr Cynog, in Brecknockshire.|| Cyvlevyr fell a martyr by the

* Ibid. p. 157.

† Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 43.

‡ Ib. p. 27.

§ Rees's Essay, &c. p. 150.

|| Ib. p. 139. Merthyr is the Welsh for Martyr.

hands of the same people at a place hence denominated Merthyr Cyvlevyr, in Cardiganshire.* So did Dogvan, at Merthyr Dogvan, in Dyved or Pembrokeshire; and Cynbryd, at a place called Bwlch Cynbryd.† Tydvyl, her brother Rhun, and their aged father himself, were beset by a party of Saxons and Gwyddyl Fichti, and murdered at a place which was afterwards called Merthyr Tydvyl. Gwen was put to death by the Saxons at Talgarth, Brecknockshire; and Nevydd, son of Rhun, was slain by the Piets and Saxons in North Britain.‡ In the above cases, the agents of persecution are specified; but there were others who died equally by martyrdom, though it has not been recorded from what particular quarter it was inflicted. These were Clydog; Elined, whose place of martyrdom was a hill called Penginger, near Brecknock; and Tybie, who is said to have been murdered by the pagans in Carmarthenshire.§

Some of this "holy family" are described as bishops; as Dyvrig, supposed to be grandson of Brychan; Nevydd, likewise a grandson, the son of Rhun; and Cynin, the son of Tudwal Bevr, by Nevydd, a daughter of the king.|| Most of the others were no doubt in holy orders, either as priests or deacons, travelling in the capacity of home missionaries, for the purpose of converting the infidel, instructing the ignorant, and confirming the weak or wavering Christian. Dingad, in his old age, devoted himself to religion within the walls of a monastery.¶

With respect to the female members, about six only are represented as founders of churches; the rest are simply styled saints.

* Ib. p. 141.

† Ib. p. 150, 151, 146.

|| Ib. p. 144, 146.

‡ Ib. pp. 144, 145.

§ Ib. pp. 146, 149, 152.

¶ Ib. p. 140.

CHAPTER V.

DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH.

“It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.”—JUDE 3.

EMRYS WLEDIG obtained the sovereignty of Britain A.D. 466.* Following after the Saxons, who had betaken themselves beyond the Humber, he was grieved to witness the extensive desolation to which they had reduced the temples of God. The sight indeed filled his mind with most painful reflections, and induced him to form a resolution, that, if he returned victorious, he should lose no time in repairing the sacrilegious breaches, and restoring the honour of divine worship. He came up to his enemies, engaged, and conquered them, at a place called Maes Beli. Hengist having fled as far as Caer Conan (Connisburgh), was there captured by Eidiol, the hero of Caer Caradawg, and by the advice of his brother Eldad, bishop of Gloucester, was led out of the city and beheaded.†

Octa son of Hengist, and his relative Eosa, soon after surrendered themselves to the British king, who conceded to them a district bordering upon Scotland for an habitation.‡

Peace being now concluded, Emrys, with a view to carry his recent intentions into effect, convened a council of bishops and noblemen at York, where it was agreed that the Christian edifices which had been destroyed by the pagans, should all be rebuilt at the sole expense of the monarch. He then visited London,

* Matt. Florileg. † Brut Tysilio; Brut G. ab Arthur. ‡ Ib. et Brut B.

Winchester, and Salisbury : and, at the suggestion of Tramor, bishop of Caerleon, commanded that the structure called by the English Stonehenge, should be erected near the latter town, as a worthy monument to the victims of "the long knives."* This was accomplished under the direction and superintendence of Merddin Emrys, the king's bard, and it has ever since been emphatically styled by the Welsh "Gwaith Emrys," or the work of Emrys. It is thus noticed in the Triads :—

"The three mighty labours of the Isle of Britain :—erecting the stone of Ketti, constructing the work of Emrys, and heaping the pile of Cyvrangon."†

The structure was raised on the site of a former conventional circle, which was used both as a Bardic seat and a court of judicature, hence its selection lately as a suitable place for the pretended settlement of national differences between the Britons and Saxons. The remains display a considerable skill in mathematics, but there is a deviation from the pure principles of constructing the Bardic circles as illustrated in those of Avebury, Stanton Drew, and many others. The innovation may be ascribed to Irish Bardism, which was in part adopted by many of the natives. This hypothesis would account for the legend which was in after times told of Merddin Emrys having by his magic power transported Stonehenge from Ireland.

Merddin was a Christian, as we are informed in the following Triad :—

"The three primary baptised (or Christian) Bards of the Isle of Britain,—Merddin Emrys, Taliesin the chief of the Bards, and Merddin the son of Madawg Morvryn."‡

Emrys Wledig seems to have been partial to the society of Bards, for he had also a renowned member of the order as his chaplain, namely, Talhaiarn, who was a descendant of Coel Godebog. He composed a prayer which ever after has been the formula used in the congress of the Bards of Glamorgan. A saying of his has been preserved by Taliesin :—

"According to the language of Talhaiarn,
There will be baptism until the Day of Judgment."§

* Ib. Girald. Topograph. distinct. ii. c.18.

† Triad 88.

‡ Triad 125.

§ Myv. Arch. vol. i. More literally, perhaps,—“There will be baptism at

A.D. 490, Dyvrig, supposed to be the son of Papai or Pabiali, son of Brychan,* was elevated by the monarch to the see of Caerleon, then vacant by the decease of Tramor. And the same year, Samson, the son of Caw, lord of Cwm Cawlwyd or Cowllwg, a district in the north, was by him also constituted archbishop of York.†

Such are the principal actions recorded as having been done by Emrys in behalf of the Church. Nor had he much leisure and tranquillity for carrying on, and extending his works of piety, even after his victory over the Saxons in the north; for he had to contend with Ella and Cerdic, who, towards the conclusion of his reign, succeeded in establishing the kingdoms of Sussex and Wessex respectively.‡ Several of the natives, being thus deprived of their possessions in those localities, moved to the north, but being there again sorely harassed, both by the Picts and Saxons, they were finally compelled to seek an asylum in Wales.§

Amongst others who thus emigrated during the present reign, the following are worthy of especial note.

Pabo, a descendant of Coel Godebog, who, from his great valour in opposing the enemies of his country, was emphatically styled "Post Prydain," or the pillar of Britain, fled to Cyngen

the day of Judgment." '*Bedydd bi ddydd varn.*' Talhaiarn is mentioned by Nennius, "Tunc Talbaern Cataguen in poemate claruit."

* In the "Genealogy of the Saints," Dyvrig is ranked among the children of Brychan. See Myv. Arch. vol. ii. pp. 29, 39. "John of Teignmouth says that his mother was Eurdila (Eurddyl) the daughter of Peiban, a certain regulus of Cambria, but that his father's name was unknown. One of the Warwick chronicles says, that his father was a king of Erging or Erchenfield, by name, Pepiau; and an old commentator upon the Book of Llandaff asserts, that the same statement originally appeared in that document, but that a later hand, wishing to make a correction, had mutilated the manuscript. If these authorities can be depended upon, the unknown person is discovered, for Pabiali, the son of Brychan, is also called Papai; and the hypothesis that Dyvrig was a grandson of Brychan is satisfactorily explained."—*Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 172.

† Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 280; Brut G. ab Arthur. Matt. Florileg.

‡ Hughes's *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. chap. viii

§ Rees's *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 167.

ab Cadell, the prince of Powys, by whom he was hospitably received, and had lands given to him. He afterwards lived a holy life, and founded the church of Llanbabo in Anglesey, where a stone still remains bearing his effigy, with the following inscription :—" HIC JACET PABO POST PRUD CORPORS . . . TE . . . PRIMA."*

Cynvarch Oer, a celebrated chieftain, also a descendant of Coel, but in another line, migrated from the north and became a saint in Wales. He founded the church of Llangynvarch in Maelor, Flintshire, which was destroyed by the Saxons in the battle of Bangor Orchard, A.D. 603.†

Pawl Hen (Paulinus) was another, who, after his removal, resided for some time at Caerworgan, and subsequently, about A.D. 480, established a college at Ty-Gwyn ar Dav, or Whitland, in Carmarthenshire, of which he became the first abbot. He is the patron saint of the church of Llangors, Brecknockshire, and of Capel Penlin, a chapel subject to Llandingad, Carmarthenshire. At no great distance from the latter, a monumental stone still exists, bearing the following inscription :—

"SERVATVR FIDÆI
PATRIEQ : SEMPER
AMATOR HIC PAVLIN
VS IACIT CVLTOR PIENT—
SIMVS ÆQVI."

Giraldus Cambrensis states that he was in episcopal orders, and he used accordingly to be commemorated in the old Welsh calendar as Polin Esgob, or the bishop.‡

But besides the Pictish and Saxon encroachments which compelled these Christian chiefs to retreat to the more congenial clime of Wales, another opposition of native origin latterly engaged the attention and arms of Emrys. This was promoted by Paseen, son of Gwrtheyrn, to whom the sovereign had conceded the dominions of Buellt and Gwrtheyrnion.§ He was,

* Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 167.

† Ib. p. 168.

‡ Ib. p. 187.

§ Nennius; Brut Tysilio; Brut G. ab Arthur.

however, eventually defeated; but as his rebellion broke out in, and was confined to, North Britain, it undoubtedly contributed to the migration just mentioned, whilst its effects could scarcely be felt within the borders of Wales. This latter province then at the time in question afforded the safest refuge for the exercise of learning and religion, though the shock of a military revolution of a different character was felt here also towards the end of the present reign. The final expulsion of the Gwyddyl Fichti from North Wales was effected by three of the grandsons of Cunedda Wledig, in company with their cousin Caswallon Law Hir (*with the long hand*), and is thus described in the “Genealogy of the Saints:”—“Meigyr, with his brothers, Cynyr and Meilyr, accompanied Caswallon Law Hir, their cousin, to drive the Fichti out of Mona, to which island they had retreated from the sons of Cunedda, and had strengthened themselves there. After cruel fighting they drove the Gwyddelians out of Mona, in which Caswallon slew Serigi, the Gwyddelian, with his own hand. This Serigi was the leader of the Gwyddelians and the Fichti, that had overrun Gwynedd from the time of Maesen Wledig. And after driving the strangers out of Mona, the Cynry took courage, and chased them from every other part of Gwynedd, so that none remained in the country but such of them as were made slaves.*

In what way this circumstance affected the state and position of the Church where it happened it is not easy to discover; for we reasonably suppose that even the Irish settlers were at this time pretty generally acquainted with the truths of Christianity, having been instructed therein by “the holy family” of Brychan Brycheiniog. Their commander, Serigi, was evidently a Christian, for he was afterwards canonized by his countrymen, and a chapel was built over his grave near the church of Holyhead, which was called Eglwys y Bedd, or Llanygwyddyl.†

* Translated in the Cambrian Biography.

† Anglice—the Church of the Grave, or the Church of the Irishman. “The ruins of it, a few years ago, were removed in order to render the way to the church more commodious. Here formerly was the shrine of Sirigi, who was canonized by the Irish. It seems to have been held in exceeding great repute

And yet the British adventurers would not have undertaken the expedition, if they judged that it would have been prejudicial to the interests of the national religion, for two at least of them, Meigyr and Meilyr, are included in the catalogue of saints.*

The lives and services of some of the Christian chiefs mentioned in the last chapter, were extended to the reign of Emrys Wledig. To them we may now add Cyngen, son of Cadell Deyrnllug, who succeeded his father in the principality of Powys, and who is celebrated for the patronage he afforded to the saints, and for the liberal endowments which he gave to the Church.† Ynyr Gwent, chieftain of a district in the present county of Monmouth, who founded a college or monastery at Caerwent.‡ Geraint ab Erbin, prince of Dyvnaint or Devon, distinguished in the Triad as one of “the three naval commanders of the Isle of Britain,” having six score ships, and six score men in each.§ The reputation of sanctity has been ascribed to him, probably on account of the protection which he rendered to his countrymen against the assaults of the pagan Saxons. Thus Llywarch Hen, a contemporary poet, who wrote his elegy, describes him as,—

“The Saxon’s foe, the friend of Saints.”||

And how deeply impressed he was with the importance of such a character, may be learned from a favourite expression of his, which has been preserved in the Englynion y Clywed:—

“Hast thou heard what Geraint sang,
The son of Erbin, just and skilful?
‘Short-lived is the hater of the saints.’”¶

And Gwynllyw Vilwr** (*the soldier*), chieftain of Gwynllwg or

for several very wonderful qualities and cures: but according to an old Irish chronicle, it was carried off by some Irish rovers, and deposited in the cathedral of Christ Church, in Dublin.”—*History of Anglesey*, London, 1775; cited in *Rees’s Essay*, &c. p. 166.

* Rees’s Essay, &c. p. 166.

† Ib. p. 161.

‡ Ib. p. 164.

§ Triad 68.

|| Heroic Elegies, p. 3.

¶ Myv. Arch. i. p. 172. Four sons of Geraint are included in the list of saints.

** Called St. Gundlens by the Latin writers of the Middle Ages.

Gwentlog, in Monmouthshire, who, in course of time, however, surrendered his dominions to his son Cattwg, and built a church, where he passed the remainder of his days in great abstinence and holiness.*

A.D. 500, Emrys died, and was succeeded in the sovereignty by his brother Uthyr Pendragon (*generalissimo*), who reigned seventeen years.† He prosecuted the war against the Saxons with great vigour and intrepidity, and obtained considerable advantages over them in the north; nevertheless, in the south and west of England the power of the enemy generally prevailed.‡ Mattheus Florilegus indeed asserts that, A.D. 511, the Saxons made an united effort to gain the whole island into their possession, and in their attempt spared neither persons nor property ecclesiastical, but nearly swept away the whole of Christianity from the land.§ An exaggerated allegation truly, but no doubt mainly correct in reference to the extent of their conquests. A prominent share in this work of sacrilege is attributed to Cerdic and his followers, who are stated to have slain the monks of Winchester, and converted their monastery and church into a temple for Dagon, and to have excluded the Christian faith from the kingdom of Wessex.||

The Gwyddyl Fichti had lately re-established their independence in parts of South Wales; and it was, probably, early in the reign of Uthyr, that Caradog Vraichvras, distinguished in the Triads as one of “the three royal knights of battle,”¶ marched against them, and recovered the principal portion of Brecknockshire. About the same time also, Urien Rheged, son

* Johannes Tinmuthensis, apud Usher, p. 248. Rees’s Essay, p. 170.

“The Church alluded to is supposed to be that of Newport, Monmouthshire, situated in the hundred of Gwentloog, and dedicated to him under the name of St. Woolos.”—*Rees’s Essay*, &c. p. 170.

† Cambrian Biography voce Uthyr.

‡ Hughes’s *Horæ Britannicæ*, p. 194; Stillingfleet’s *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 332.

§ Matth. Florileg. apud Usher, p. 249.

|| Usher, p. 249.

¶ The two others were “Llyr Llyuddawg, and Mael ab Menwaed of Arllechwedd; and Arthur sang, concerning them, the following stanza:—

of Cynvareh Oer, styled a "bull of conflict,"* succeeded in emancipating the rest of the country from their usurpation. He is said to have studied at one time in the college of Llan-carvan, and has been considered a saint by his countrymen.

Whilst these affairs were going on, the following holy persons arrived from Armorica:—Cadvan, Cynon, Padarn,† Tydecho, Tegvedd, Gwyndav Hen, Hywyn, Umbravel, Trinio, Dochdwy, Mael, Sulien, Cristiolus, Rhystud, Dervel, Dwywau, Alan, Lleuddad, Llonio Lawhir, Llynab, Meilyr, Maelrys, Sadwrn, Canna, Crallo, Tanwg, Gredivael, Flewyn, Teewyn, Trillo, Tegai, Twrog, Baglan, Llechid Tyvodwg, Ilar, Ust, Dyvnig, Eithras, Llywan, Durdan. These were, for the most part, children or grandchildren of Ithel Iael (*the liberal*), and Emyr Llydaw, both Armorican princes; and their emigration may be attributed to the oppression of the Franks, who, under Clovis, were at this time establishing their dominion in Gaul.‡ The national religion of Britain, however, was greatly benefited by the circumstance; for they nearly all of them established churches in different parts of Wales: a great proportion were also founders or members of monastic institutions, and some are styled bishops. Their principal patron appears to have been Einion Vrenhin (*king*), a lineal descendant of Cunedda Wledig, whose territories are supposed to lie in the neighbourhood of Carnarvonshire. It was with his assistance that Cadvan, the leader of the

"Lo, these are my three knights of battle,—
Mael Hir, and Llyr Llyuddawg,
And the pillar of Cymru, Caradawg."—*Triad* 29.

* "The three bulls of conflict of the Isle of Britain: Cynvar Cadgadwg, the son of Cynwyd Cynwydion; Gwenddoleu, the son of Ceidiaw; and Urien, the son of Cynvareh;—that is, they would rush upon their enemies like a bull, and nobody could repel them."—*Tr.* 72.

† The date assigned by Usher to the visit of Padarn is the year 516. It must, however, have been earlier, for we find that he, in company with Dewi and Teilo, travelled to the Holy Land before A.D. 512, which is the year in which the latter, having been consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was raised to the bishopric of Llandaf.

‡ Paris was made the capital of the dominions of Clovis in the year 510.—*Rees's Essay*, §c. p. 213.

company, founded the celebrated monastery of Enlli or Bardsey.* On the other hand, Maelgwn Gwynedd, who succeeded to the principality of North Wales, A.D. 517, rendered no inconsiderable annoyance to Padarn and Tydecho, whilst engaged in their pious undertakings.†

These are the only events of importance connected with our subject, the date of which may be assigned to this reign. Uthyr was succeeded in the nominal sovereignty of Britain by the illustrious Arthur, who was crowned, A.D. 517, by Dyvirig, archbishop of Caerleon.‡ According to Nennius, he gained twelve victories over the Saxons, though it is difficult now to determine the respective dates and localities of them. In one battle, fought at a place called Llongborth,§ Geraint ab Erbin, “the strenuous warrior from the woodland of Dyvnaint,” fell. One of the most celebrated engagements, however, in which he vanquished his enemies, was that of Badon Mount, thus alluded to by an ancient Bard:—

“Woe was to those infatuated men, when occurred the battle of Badon;
Arthur was at the head of the brave; the blades were red with blood:
He avenged on his enemies the blood of warriors,
Warriors who had been the defence of the northern kings.”||

This victory checked for a while the progress of the Saxons, and kept them within the bounds of the provinces which they had already subdued.

Arthur’s martial prowess was the theme of general admiration, and, accordingly, secured the confidence and co-operation of his friends, whilst it inspired his enemies with terror. When-

* Ib. p. 214.

† Ib. pp. 217, 218.

‡ Brut Tysilio; Brut G. ab Arthur.

§ This battle, according to Dr. Owen Pughe, took place about the year 530. It is difficult to identify it with any of those enumerated by Nennius, but that Arthur commanded in it is evident from the following stanza by Llywarch Hen:—

“At Llongborth were slain to Arthur
Valiant men, who hewed down with steel;
He was the emperor and conductor of the toil of war.”

Heroic Elegies of Ll. Hen, p. 9.

|| These lines are supposed to have been composed by Taliesin. See the original Welsh in Usher’s *Britann. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 254.

ever he, Morgan Mwynvawr (*the courteous*), and Rhun, the son of Beli, says the Triad, “went to war, none would stay at home, so greatly were they beloved; and there was neither war nor battle which they would not gain, where there was no treachery or ambuscade formed against them. Thence is it proverbially expressed: ‘The three persons who would acquire men wherever they went, Arthur, Morgan Mwynvawr, and Rhun, the son of Beli.’ ‘The three hosts who would prove themselves men wherever they were, the host of Arthur, the host of Morgan Mwynvawr, and the host of Rhun, the son of Beli.’”*

At length, A.D. 542, treachery overpowered this “gallant sovereign;”† for he received a mortal wound whilst fighting on the plains of Camlan against his own nephew, Medrod, who, having, during his absence on the continent, usurped the supreme command, now endeavoured to secure it by a base alliance with the Saxons. “Because of this the Cymry lost the crown of Lloegyr and the sovereignty of the Isle of Britain.”‡

Arthur is represented as possessing a great zeal for the Christian religion,§ and several men of devotion retired within his jurisdiction from the rage of their pagan oppressors in other parts of the island. Among these we may mention Dunawd and his sons Deiniol, Cynwyl, and Gwarthan, who conjointly founded or re-established the college of Bangor Iscoed;|| and the children of Caw, the lord of Cwm Cawlwyd, who are honoured in one Triad as the third “holy family of the Isle of Britain.”¶

* Triad 31.

† Tr. 23.

‡ Tr. 21.

§ There is, however, an exception recorded, for he is, on the other hand, stated, “to have plundered St. Paternus, and to have destroyed a monastery.”—*Hughes’s Hore Britannicæ*, vol. ii. p. 202.

|| Dunawd is thus mentioned in the Triads:—

“The three pillars of battle of the Isle of Britain: Dunawd Ffur, the son of Pabo Post Prydain; Gwallawg the son of Ileenawg; and Cynwyllyn Drwsgl;—that is, they could distribute the order of battle, and arrange the command, better than all who have ever lived.”—*Tr.* 71.

Dunawd was probably accompanied from the north on this occasion also by his two brothers Sawyl and Carwyd, who became inmates of his college, and by his sister Arddun, to whom some Welsh churches are dedicated.

¶ See p. 98, note.

Upwards of twenty churches may be enumerated as having been established by them in different parts of the country.

Such migrations were the means of narrowing the bounds, and cramping the energies of Lloegrian Christianity to a very considerable degree. From the following document we learn, that the practical efficiency of the national Church was generally co-extensive with the regal authority of Arthur, and that its external affairs were conducted much in correspondence with the civil government.

“The three enthroned tribes of the Isle of Britain; one at Caerleon-upon-Usk, where Arthur was supreme king, St. Dewi (David), archbishop, and Maelgwn Gwynedd chief elder; the second at Celliwig, in Cornwall, where Arthur was supreme king, Bedwini* archbishop, and Caradawg Vreichvras chief elder; the third at Penryn Rhionydd, in the north, where Arthur was supreme king, Cyndeyrn Garthwys archbishop, and Gwrthmwl Wledig chief elder.”†

The following reguli, who were contemporaries of Arthur, appear to have aided in the defence of the Christian faith:—Urien Rheged, Llywarch Hen, prince of Argoed; Cynddylan,‡ prince of one of the Powysian districts; Gwenddoleu, a northern chief, of the line of Coel Godebog; Doged Vrenhin, or king, a descendant of Cunedda Wledig; Aneurin and Huail, sons of Caw; and Iddon, son of Ynyr Gwent.§

After Arthur came Cystennyn Goronog (*crowned*), son of Cador, prince of Cornwall.|| He was a man at first apparently insensible to the sacred obligations of religion; for he slew the

* “Hast thou heard what Bedwini sang,
A gifted bishop of exalted rank?
‘Consider thy word before it is uttered.’”

Englynion y Clywed (Myv. Arch. i. 173.)

† Triad 64.

‡ “The churches of Bassa have lost their privilege,
Since the Lloegrians have destroyed
Cynddylan, and Elvan of Powys.”

Llywarch Hen.

§ Cambrian Biography; Essay on the Welsh Saints.

|| According to Gildas, he was prince of Devon.

sons of Medrod, who had aspired to the sovereignty, the one in a monastery, and the other at the altar in a church. Nevertheless, he subsequently repented, and devoted the remainder of his life to the service of Christianity.*

The reins of government were afterwards wielded by Cynan Wledig and Gwrtheyyr the Second, successively; but nothing of importance occurred during their supremacy, which in each case was very brief.†

Maelgwn Gwynedd ascended the throne, A.D. 546. He was a powerful man, and gained many advantages over his enemies, though the former part of his life was marked with immorality of the darkest hue. In the *Life of St. Padarn*, by John of Teignmouth, he is described as “always the tempter of saints.” Padarn himself received certain injuries from him; so did Tydecho. He imprisoned Elfin, a student of the college of Illtyd, in the castle of Diganwy; and opposed Cyndeyrn (Kentigern), in the establishment of the bishopric of Llanelwy, though he was afterwards reconciled, and became one of his patrons.‡

But potent as he was, he nevertheless quailed under the severe rebukes of some of the objects of his oppression, so far as even to make amends for the wrongs which he had inflicted, as in the case of Tydecho, to whom he subsequently granted several immunities. The invective of Gildas against Maelgwn is well known, and needs not here be repeated. On one occasion, Taliesin, who is ranked with the two Merddins, under the appellation of “the three principal Christian Bards of the Isle of Britain,” presented himself before the king, and pronounced against him this maledictory strain:—

“Be neither blessing nor success to Maelgwn Gwynedd;
 May vengeance overtake him for the wrongs,
 The treachery, and the cruelty, he has shewn to the race of Arthur.
 Waste lie his lands, short be his life,
 Extensive be vengeance on Maelgwn Gwynedd.
 A strange animal shall come from the Marsh of Rhianedd,
 Shaggy, long-toothed, and fire-eyed:
 This shall do vengeance on Maelgwn Gwynedd.”

* *Britann. Eccles. Antiq.* c. xiv.

† *Brut Tysilio*; *Brut G. ab Arthur*.

‡ *Usher*, c. xiv.; *Rees's Essay*, &c. sect. x. § *Myv. Arch.* vol. i.

Yet the Bard was suffered to retire uninjured.

Towards the close of his life, Maelgwn repented of his wicked course, did some service to the Church, particularly at Bangor, in Carnarvonshire, which place he erected into an episcopal see.* It is said that he once intended to abdicate his throne, and become himself an inmate of a monastery. He died A.D. 566, of the yellow plague (Y Vad Velen), in the church of Llanrhos, Carnarvonshire, whither he had taken himself for shelter. This pestilence is recorded in one of the Triads, as follows :—“ The second pestilence was the yellow plague of Rhôs, which was caused by the carcases of the slain ; and whoever went within reach of the effluvia fell dead immediately.”†

The sovereignty of the Britons was next assumed by Ceredig,‡ a man of turbulent disposition, and who was perpetually engaged in feuds with his own countrymen. The consequence of this was, that the Saxons, in his reign, about 582, established Mercia, which was the most extensive of their kingdoms, and confined the Cymry within the limits of Wales, Cornwall, and Cambria.§ It is not, however, to be supposed, that all the old inhabitants were thus driven from the territories which were then occupied by the enemy. On the other hand, the Lloegrian Britons, in the main, submitted to their conquerors, and adopted their customs. They had already become generally incorporated with the Coranians and Romans, who, as a Triad affirms, also joined themselves to the Saxons in opposition to the Cymry.|| And in another Triad it is particularly expressed, that “ there was none of the Lloegrians who did not become Saxons, except such as were found in Cornwall, and in the Commot of Carnoban, in Deivyr and Bryneich (*Deira* and *Bernicia*).”¶

* Rees's Essay, &c. p. 258.

† Tr. 12 ; Usher, p. 290 ; Liber Landavensis, p. 343 ; Williams's History of Aberconwy, pp. 7, 8 ; Brut Tysilio ; Brut G. ab Arthur.

‡ According to some authorities, Maelgwn was succeeded in the sovereignty by his son Rhun. It may be, that both put in their claims, and were seconded by their respective partisans, but that Rhun's practical government was more particularly confined to his patrimonial territory of North Wales.

§ Brut Tysilio ; Brut G. ab Arthur ; Price's Hanes Cymru, p. 321 ; Rees's Essay, &c. p. 283.

|| See page 91.

¶ Triad 7. We have used the term *Saxons* in reference to all the Ger-

One of the greatest patrons of Christianity during the period subsequent to the death of Arthur, was Rhydderch Hael (*the liberal*), king of the Strath Clyde Britons. Merddin Wyllt (*the wild*), a contemporary Bard, styles him "the champion of the faith."^{*} Owain, the son of Urien Rheged, was likewise a sincere friend of the Church, as was also Rhun, the son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, who succeeded to the principality of North Wales on the death of his father. Both of these, in conjunction with Rhuvon Bevr, form a Triad of the "blessed princes of the Isle of Britain."[†]

It is now time that we should take a concise historical view of some of the principal ecclesiastics, who adorned the Gospel of Christ, "both by their preaching and living," during the period involved in this chapter.

The first that requires notice is Dyvrig, surnamed Beneurog (*golden head-d*), who was born on the banks of the Wye, in Herefordshire.[‡] He founded a college at Henllan, on the same river, where he taught a great number of persons "in the literary study of divine and human wisdom; setting forth to them in himself an example of religious life, and perfect charity." After seven years he removed to Mochros, his native place, where, for a long time, "he regularly lived, preaching and giving instruction to the clergy and people, his doctrine shining

man adventurers, as that by which they are generally known, but it is necessary to observe that there are frequently three nations included in it, viz. the *Saxons*, properly so called, the *Angli*, and the *Jutes*. The Triads mention the names of three British kings who ruled over Deivyr and Bryneich. And that they lived about this time is evident from the circumstance that they slew respectively the "dusky birds of Gwenddolen," "Edelfled, king of England," and "Gwrgi Garlwyd, who had married a sister of Edelfled." (Tr. 39, 46.) Yet the Angles had already established themselves in these territories under Ida, who came over A.D. 547. And upon his death in 560 we even find Ada, his son, and Ella, styled kings of Bryneich and Deivyr respectively.

* Myv. Arch. v. i. Davies's Mythology and Rites of the British Druids, p. 470.

† Triad 25.

‡ It is maintained by some that he was born on the banks of the Gwain, near Fishguard, Pembrokeshire, but the weight of evidence is in favour of the place mentioned in the text. See *Rees's Essay*, §c. p. 171.

throughout all Britain, as a candle on a candlestick.”* A.D. 470, he was appointed bishop of Llandaf, and was in 490, as already shewn, raised to the see of Caerleon, which he held with the bishopric of Llandaf until 512, when he resigned the latter.† In the year 519, he, in conjunction with Deiniol, succeeded, when former messengers had failed, in drawing Dewi from his privacy, in order to confront the Pelagians at the Synod of Brevi. And when he perceived the force of that holy man’s eloquence, he resigned Caerleon in his favour, and retired to the Island of Bardsey, where he died in 522.‡

Cattwg, the son of Gwynllyw Vilwr, gave up the principality which his father had left him, and chose a life of religion and learning. He became abbot or principal of the college of Llan-carvan; and so partial was Dyvrig to his society, that he frequently resided near his establishment at a place called Garnllwyd, and generally made him his companion in his travels.§ As a scholastic teacher Cattwg is thus celebrated in the Triads:—

“The three blessed youth-trainers of the Isle of Britain;—Cattwg, the son of Gwynllyw, at Llangarvan; Madawg Morvryn, at Côr Iltyd; and Deiniol Wynn in Gwynedd: they were Bards.”||

He was also an attendant at the court of Arthur, where he distinguished himself as the protector of innocence.

“The three knights of a righteous discretion in the court of Arthur;—Blas, the son of the prince of Llychlyn; Cattwg, the son of Gwynllyw Vilwr; and Padrogl Paladrddellt, son of the king of India. Their principles were to defend all the infirm, and orphans, and widows, and virgins, and all who should put themselves under the protection of God and his peace; and every one that was poor, feeble, and a stranger; and to deliver them from violence, wrong, and oppression. Blas by the civil law; Padrogl, by the law of arms; and Cattwg, by the law of

* Life of St. Dubricius, in *Liber Landavensis*.

† *Britann. Eccles. Antiq. c. v. et Index Chronologicus*; *Lib. Landav.*; *Chronological series of the Bishops of Llandaf*.

‡ *Girald. Itinerar. Cambr. lib. 2, c. 4*; *Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 191, 192*.

§ *Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 176, 177*.

|| *Triad 98*.

the Church, and the laws of God. And they would do nothing out of respect or fear, or love or hatred, or prudence or compliancy, or anger or merey, in the world; but merely what was just and righteous according to the law of God, and the nature of good, and the requirements of justice.”*

Another Triad ranks Cattwg with Illtyd and Bwrt, under the appellation of “the three chaste knights of the court of Arthur,” inasmuch as that “they led a life of celibacy, and devoted themselves to the law of God and the faith in Christ.”†

On account of his extensive knowledge and wisdom, he was emphatically styled Cattwg Ddoeth, or the Wise; and a large collection of his maxims and moral sayings, both in prose and verse, is preserved in the third volume of the *Myvyrian Archaeology*.

He is considered to be the founder of fourteen churches in the counties of Brecknock, Glamorgan, and Monmouth.‡

Illtyd was by birth an Armorican, being the son of Bicanys, by a sister§ of Emyr Llydaw, and was, therefore, the great nephew of Garmon. Cattwg persuaded him to leave the world, and devote himself to religion;|| and he was accordingly appointed by Dyvrig to preside over the college of Caerworgan.¶ To this seminary, scholars flocked from all parts of Christendom,—among whom were the sons of British nobles and foreign princes. Illtyd was generally known by the designation of “excellent master of the Britons;” and it is supposed that to him Gildas alludes, when he reminds Maelgwn Gwynedd of his having “*præceptorem pene totius Britanniae magistrum elegantem*.”**

* Triad 117.

† Tr. 122. The title of “knights” must have had reference to the past achievements of Cattwg and Illtyd, before they had abandoned their military profession for the service of religion.

‡ Rees’s Essay, &c. p. 177.

§ By John of Teignmouth she is called Rieniguilida. In another account, Illtyd’s mother is stated to have been Gweryla, daughter of Tewdrig, king of Glamorgan.

|| Johan. Tinnuthens. in *Vitâ Iltuti*.

¶ Liber Landavensis, p. 313.

** Usher, p. 284.

The foundation of several churches in various parts of Wales is attributed to Illtyd. His memory is, moreover, honoured by his countrymen on account of his having introduced among them an improved method of ploughing. "For, before his time, their land was not cultivated but with the mattock and over-treading plough, as the manner of the Irish is." He is hence recorded as one of "the three benefactors of the nation of the Cymry."*

There was much similarity in the lives and actions of Dewi, Padarn, and Teilo, and on that account they are more than once joined together in Triads.

"The three blessed visitors of the Isle of Britain: Dewi, Padarn, and Teilo. They were so called because they went as guests to the houses of the noble, the plebeian, the native, and the stranger, without accepting either fee or reward, or victuals or drink; but what they did was to teach the faith in Christ to every one without pay or thanks. Besides which, they gave to the poor and needy, gifts of their gold and silver, their raiment and provisions.†

"The three blessed Bards of the Isle of Britain: Dewi, Teilo, and Padarn.‡"

The Register of Llandaf and Giraldus Cambrensis state that the three visited Jerusalem together, where they were consecrated by the patriarch to the order of bishops. Their peculiar talents and qualifications were here distinctly manifested; for Dewi performed divine service in a more pleasing manner than his companions; Padarn sang in a superior style; and Teilo excelled as a preacher.§

* Triad 58.

† Triad 19.

‡ Essay on Coelbren y Beirdd, p. 39. Two saints, Gwrhir and Ystyfan, are reckoned among the Bards of Teilo. The former founded the church of Llysvaen, Glamorganshire, and the latter founded Llanstyfan, Carmarthenshire, and Llanstyfan, in the county of Radnor.

"Hast thou heard the saying of Ystyfan,

The Bard of Teilo, of quick reply,—

'Man doth covet, it is God who distributes.' "

(*Eng. y Clywed.*)

§ Liber Landavensis; Life of St. Teilo; Rees's Essay, &c. p. 195. It is

Dewi was the son of Sandde ab Ceredig ab Cunedda, by Non, the daughter of Gynyr of Caergaweh.* He was baptized by Ailwyw, or Albeus, bishop of Munster, who was on a visit to Wales; and he received his early education at the school of Illtyd. Having been ordained presbyter, he removed to the college of Pawl Hen, where he spent ten years in the study of the holy scriptures. When he returned from Jerusalem he founded or restored a monastery in the valley of Rosina, which was afterwards called Menevia, where he devoted himself to prayer and contemplation. In the meanwhile, the heresy of the Pelagians having revived, a general synod of all the churches of Wales was convened, A.D. 519, at Brevi, in the county of Cardigan, to which, at the instance of Pawl Hen, Dewi was invited. The solicitations of the messengers who were first sent to him he resolutely withstood, but at length he was prevailed upon by Dyvrig and Deiniol to attend the council, where, by his learning and eloquence, he completely vanquished the heretics. Upon this, he was unanimously chosen to succeed Dyvrig, who now, bowed down by years, resigned the arduous duties of the primacy and retired to the monastery of Bardsey. As some of the people continued to profess Pelagianism, Dewi convened another synod at Caerleon, where his exertions were so successful that the heresy was exterminated, and the meeting was hence recorded "the synod of victory." The primate resided for some time at Caerleon, but afterwards, by the permission of Arthur, he removed the see to his beloved Menevia, and there he died about A.D. 544.†

Dewi is ranked with Cattwg and Teilo, "as the three canon-

said, moreover, that they received appropriate gifts. Padarn had a pastoral staff, and a choral cap of the richest silk; Dewi had a wonderful altar of unknown materials; and Teilo, a curious bell, which sounded every hour without being touched.

* Gynyr was originally the chieftain of a district in Pembrokeshire, since called Pebidiog, or Dewsland, in which the town of St. David's is situated. But he gave all his lands to the Church, and his son, Gistlianus, became a bishop in the place. It was doubtless in consequence of his relationship to Gynyr and Gistlianus, that Dewi was enabled to establish the monastery of Menevia, and to exercise there the office of a chorepiscopus before his elevation to the archbishopric of Caerleon.—*Rees's Essay*, &c. pp. 162, 195.

† Rees's Essay, &c. p. 193, &c. Usher, c. v. xiii. & xiv.

ized saints of the Isle of Britain.”* One of his maxims has been preserved in the Englynion y Clywed :

“ Didst thou hear what Dewi sang,
Who was a grave man of extensive abilities ?
‘ The best habit is rectitude.’ ”†

Padarn was the son of Pedrwn‡ ab Emyr Llydaw. After his arrival in Wales, he became a member of the college of Illtyd. He afterwards established a society at a place since called Llanbadarn Vawr in the county of Cardigan, where he also founded an episcopal see, of which he became the first bishop, and presided over it twenty one years. At the expiration of that time, he returned to his native country, where he was made bishop of Vannes. He subscribed the decrees of the council of Paris, A.D. 557, and is commended both as an abbot and a bishop by Venantius Fortunatus, a Latin poet of Gaul, who was his contemporary.§

“ Didst thou hear what Padarn sang,
Who was a correct and powerful preacher ?
‘ What a man does God will judge.’ ”||

Teilo was the son of Enlleu ab Hydwn Dwn ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig. He first studied under Dyvrig, by whose assistance he attained to great proficiency in the knowledge of the Bible. Afterwards, he went and abode for some time with Pawl Hen, “ that by conversing together on the obscure parts of the Scriptures, which he did not comprehend, they might understand all as truly explained.” Under the patronage of Dyvrig he opened a seminary at Llandaf, probably after his eastern pilgrimage ; and on the resignation of Dyvrig, A.D. 512, he was appointed bishop of that place. When the yellow fever broke out, he emigrated to Armorica, where he was honourably received by Samson the bishop of Dole. He was elected, on his return, to the archbishopric of Menevia, which was then vacant, but he removed the metropolitan see to Llandaf, and appointed his nephew, Ismael, to be his suffragan

* Cambrian Biography.

† Myv. Arch. v. i.

‡ Or, Pedredin, as he was sometimes called.

§ Usher, c. xiv. ; Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 215, &c.

|| Englynion y Clywed ; Myv. Arch. v. i.

bishop at the former place. "And many other persons of the same rank he likewise raised to the episcopacy, sending them through the country, and giving dioceses to them to suit the convenience of the clergy and the people."*

"Didst thou hear what Teilo sang,

A man who performed penance?—

'It is not well to contend with God.' †

The churches established by the three preceding prelates are numerous, and are principally situated within the dioceses over which they presided.‡

Gildas was one of the numerous sons of Caw. When he arrived in Wales, he became a member of the College of Llan-carvan, and such was the reputation he won there, that he was requested by Cattwg to undertake the charge of the seminary for one year. This he undertook and performed to the great advantage of the students, desiring no other reward than their prayers. He is said to have there also transcribed a copy of the four evangelists, which was extant in the thirteenth century, and which was much venerated by the Welsh, particularly in their oaths and protestations. After this, he withdrew to a small island, not far distant; but was there disturbed by pirates, and in consequence, removed to Glastonbury, where he wrote his "History of the Britons," and remained to the close of his life.§

Samson, the son of Amwn Ddu ab Emyr Llydaw, was born in Glamorganshire,|| probably after the emigration of the Armorican saints already mentioned. He joined himself to the congregation of Illtyd, of which, in course of time, he became principal; but afterwards he went over to Armorica, and was appointed bishop of Dole. It appears from the "Concilia Galliæ," that he subscribed to the decrees of the council of Paris, in the year 557. He returned to his native country, and died in the college of Illtyd.¶

* Usher, c. xiv; Liber Landavensis, Life of St. Teilo; Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 242, &c.

† Eng. y Clywed, Myv. Arch. v. i. ‡ See "Essay on the Welsh Saints."

§ Usher, c. xiii; Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 225; Hughes's *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. pp. 237, &c.

|| His mother is said to have been Anna, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig.

¶ Usher, c. xiv.; Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 253; Liber Landavensis, Life of St. Samson.

Deiniol,* the son of Dunawd, assisted his father in the establishment of the monastery of Bangor Iscoed; and in 516, he founded another monastery in Carnarvonshire, of which he was abbot. This place was afterwards erected by Maelgwn Gwynedd into an episcopal see, of which Deiniol was the first bishop. He founded the churches of Llanddeiniol, in Cardiganshire; Llanddeiniol, or Itton, Monmouthshire; Hawarden, Flintshire; and Llanuwchllyn, Merionethshire. Deiniol is distinguished in the Triad as one of "the three blessed youth-trainers of the Isle of Britain," and is, moreover, stated to have been a member of the Bardic profession.†

Cyndeyrn (Kentigern) the son of Owain ab Urien Rheged, was born in North Britain, where he was placed under the instruction of Servanus, an Irish saint. He founded the bishopric of Penryn Rhionydd or Glasgow, where he resided for some time as primate of the Clydesdale Britons, but was afterwards forced by the dissensions of the people to retire to Wales, where he was kindly received by Dewi. He here established another bishopric at Llanelwy,‡ in Flintshire, about A.D. 550, which, after a few years, he resigned to Asaf, one of his disciples, being himself recalled by Rhydderch Hael to his former diocese, where he died at an advanced age. He was so celebrated for the urbanity of his disposition, that he obtained in consequence the appellation of Mwyngu, or "amiable," which later writers have rendered into St. Mungo.§

Asaf was the son of Sawyl Bennuchel, son of Pabo, and was born in North Wales. He was a man of great virtue, learning, and piety, and was remarkable for repeating frequently the sentence, "They who withstand the word of God, envy man's salvation."|| The church of Llanasa, in the county of Flint, was founded by him.¶

Beuno, grandson of Gwynllyw Vilwr, is considered as the founder of no less than eleven churches. He also established a monastery, A.D. 616, at a place called Clynnog, in Carnarvon-

* Called, also, Deiniol Wyn, and Daniel.

† Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 258.

‡ St. Asaph.

§ Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 261.

|| "Quicumque Verbo Dei adversaretur, salutem hominum invident."—*Bale. Capgrave.*

¶ Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 265, 266.

shire, upon land granted him by Cadvan, the reigning prince of North Wales, to whom Beuno gave a small golden sceptre as an acknowledgment for the donation.* A saying of his is recorded in the “Englynion y Clywed.”

“Hast thou heard what Beuno sang?

Chant thy prayer† and thy creed;—

‘From death flight will not avail.’”‡

Cybi, grandson of Geraint ab Erbin, and cousin of Dewi, was present at the synod of Brevi. He founded the churches of Llangybi in the vicinity of Llanddewi Brevi, Llangybi, near Caerleon, and Llangybi, in Carnarvonshire. He moreover established a college at Caergybi, or Holyhead, in Anglesey, of which he became president. It is popularly told that he and Seiriol, who presided over a similar institution at Penmon, in the same county, used to meet weekly at Clorach, near Llanerch y Medd, to confer upon subjects of religion.§ And that, from the circumstance of Seiriol travelling westward in the morning and eastward in the evening, and Cybi, on the contrary, always facing the sun, they were called ‘Seiriol Wyn, a Chybi Velyn,—Seiriol the Fair, and Cybi the Tawny.||

The foregoing are a few only of the numerous saints of Cymru, who fought the good fight of faith during the period under consideration. To notice the rest, of whom we have any account, would be incompatible with our limits,—suffice it to say, that they appear to have been in general equally devoted to the service of Christ, according to their respective means and circumstances. We say, *in general*, for however harsh and exaggerated the language of Gildas is, we cannot withhold every degree of credit from his allegations respecting the irregularities of some of the clergy. It is certain, however, that the establishment of the Welsh Church was now nearly completed, so that there remained but few districts in the land, comparatively speaking, in which provisions were not permanently made for the public worship of God.

* Ibid. p. 268.

† In the original it is *pader*, a term by which the Welsh designate “the Lord’s Prayer.” [Pater Noster.]

‡ Myv. Arch. v. i. p. 173.

§ It is said that he used also to meet Elian at a place called Llandyvrydog between Llanelian and Holyhead, for the same purpose.

|| Rees’s Welsh Saints, p. 267.

CHAPTER VI.

TRIAL OF THE CHURCH.

“We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.”—2 CORINTHIANS iii. 8, 9.

OF the several tribes which, from its earliest colonization, successively settled in Britain, none may be regarded as unmixed at the present stage of our history, except the Cymry, who, moreover, occupied nearly the very limits assigned to them originally by the institute of Prydain.*

As our inquiry into the religious state of the former inhabitants of Lloegyr and Alban was brief and superficial, so it is not our purpose to take any notice of the establishment and progress of Christianity among the Saxons, but where the subject bears upon, or is interwoven with, the ecclesiastical antiquities of the Cymry.

History is silent as to the date of Ceredig's death. Rhun died A.D. 586, and was succeeded in the principality of North Wales by his son Beli, of whom no further record has been preserved. His honours were inherited, A.D. 599, by Iago ab Beli, who reigned until 603, when he was killed by the blow of a hatchet, inflicted upon him by Cadavael Wyllt (*the wild*), a deed stigmatized in the Triads, as one of “the three evil hatchet blows of the Isle of Britain.”†

It will be observed, that some of the ecclesiastical champions

* Triad 2. See p. 10.

† Triad 48.

mentioned in the preceding chapter, lived to this period. To them may be now added the families of Dingad ab Nudd Hael (*the liberal*), in the line of Maesen Wledig; of Hygarvael, the son of Cyndrwyn, a Powysian prince; of Arwystli Glof (*lame*), the son of Seithenin, a prince of Dyved; of Cennydd, the son of Gildas; of Pasgen ab Urien Rheged; of Cawrdav, the son of Caradog Vreichvras; and many others. But the most celebrated are Oudoceus, the bishop of Llandaf; Tysilio, the son of Brochwel Ysgythrog ab Cyngen ab Cadell; and Deiniolen, or Deiniol Ail, the grandson of Dunawd, abbot of Bangor Is-coed.*

Oudoceus was nephew of Teilo, and, at his death, succeeded him in the see of Llandaf, which he governed for a while in peace and love. Afterwards, however, a misunderstanding unhappily arose between him and king Cadwgan, in consequence of a certain injury which one of his clergy received from the latter. The king expelled him from his dominions, and the bishop, in return, left them under a curse, and confined his episcopal ministrations to the kingdom of Meurig, on the other side of the river Towy. After an interval, Cadwgan repented of what he had done, sought the prelate's pardon, and restored to him his churches with their lands, and all their dignity, privilege, and liberty. Oudoceus has the honour of ranking with Dyfrig and Teilo, as one of the patron saints of the cathedral of Llandaf.†

Tysilio is said to have been bishop of St. Asaph, to which see he must have been appointed immediately after Asaf, who was his cousin in the first degree.‡ He was, moreover, a Bard, and wrote an ecclesiastical history of Britain, which is alleged to have been preserved in manuscript as late as the year 1600, but since lost.§ A religious dialogue, in verse, between Gwrn-

* Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints, sect. xii.

† Liber Landavensis, chap. iv; Rees's Essay, p. 274.

‡ Thus, Tysilio's mother was Arddun, sister of Sawyl Benuechel, who was the father of Asaf, and both children of Pabo Post Prydain.

§ Correspondence of the late Rev. Evan Evans (Prydydd Hir) published in the "Cambrian Quarterly," vol. i. p. 396.

erth and his father Llewelyn ab Bleiddyd, of Trallwng, or Welsh Pool, inserted in the Myvyrian Archaiology, was composed by Tysilio. He was the founder of several churches, some of which are beyond the limits of his diocese. These he was probably enabled to establish in consequence of the conquests of his brother, Cynan Garwyn, who, according to Taliesin, was victorious along the banks of the Wye, in the Isle of Anglesey, on the hills of Dimetia, and in the region of Brychan.*

Deiniolen was educated at Bangor Iscoed, under the presidency of his grandfather, and after the destruction of that monastery, he retired to Bangor in Carnarvonshire, where he became abbot of the society which his father had established. In 616, he founded the church of Llanddeiniolen, in the same county.†

It was towards the conclusion of the sixth century that Augustine, the monk, came to Britain, with the express design of converting the Pagan Saxons to the faith of Christ.‡ He was admitted into episcopal orders under the title of "Bishop of the English" (*Anglorum Episcopus*), and invested by the pope with authority over all the native prelates.§ Accordingly, on learning the character and position of the ancient Church, he invited Dunawd, of Bangor Iscoed, who had been represented to him as pre-eminent among the scholars of the age, to come and assist him in preaching the Gospel to the Saxons. But the abbot replied, that he did not think it worthy to preach to that cruel people, who had treacherously slain their parents, and robbed them of their just and legitimate property. He maintained, moreover, that his countrymen owed spiritual subjection to none under God, besides the Archbishop of Caerleon: and on this point, he is said to have enforced his arguments, by an earnest appeal to Holy Scripture.||

* Rees's Essay, &c. sect. xii. ; Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 168.

† Ibid.

‡ He appears to have received his commission from Gregory, in 596, and to have landed in Kent in 597.—*Wharton de vera Success. Archiep. Cantuar. Angl. Sacr.* i. p. 89.

§ Bede, lib. i. cap. xxvii ; Soame's Anglo-Saxon Church, ch. i.

|| Brut Tysilio ; Brut G. ab Arthur. Leland says, that the British writers

Bede mentions two synods as having been convened relative to the claims of Augustine. At the first, which was held at a place called Augustinaes ac, the Britons resolutely refused to assent to the entreaties, the exhortations, and the rebukes of the foreign missionary to give up their own traditions, though they might disagree with those of the rest of Christendom. It was not until a miracle was believed to have been performed by Augustine, that they confessed that his preaching was according to righteousness. But even then they would not conform until they should have consulted the majority of their countrymen, and obtained their consent and permission. With this view, they demanded that another synod should be held, at which a greater number of persons should meet. This second synod was attended by seven bishops and many very learned men, chiefly from the college of Bangor Iscoed. Whilst on their way thither they consulted a hermit, renowned for his piety and wisdom, as to the manner in which they should regard the proposals of Augustine. He advised them to regulate their resolutions according to his behaviour towards them at the conference. They were to contrive to be somewhat later in their arrival than he, and if he deigned not to stand up at the approach of so venerable and numerous an assembly, it was a sign he was no disciple of the humble-minded Jesus, and, therefore, they were not to listen to him, but still retain their ancient usages. This was an unfortunate test for Augustine ; for as he continued to sit in his chair, the British ecclesiastics indignantly charged him with pride, and strove to contradict everything which he said. The missionary, at length relaxing in his de-

give a more ample account of the conference with Augustine than is extant in Bede ; that according to them, Dunawd did at large dispute with great learning and gravity against receiving the authority of the Pope or of Augustine ; and that he defended the power of the Archbishop of St. David's ; and affirmed it not to be for the British interest to own either the Roman pride or the Saxon tyranny. He further says, that the abbot found fault with Gregory for not admonishing the Saxons of their gross usurpations against their solemn oaths ; and adds, that it was their duty, if they would be good Christians, to restore their unjust and tyrannical power to those from whom they had taken it.—*De Script. in Dinoth.* See Stillingfleet's *Orig. Britan.* pp. 359,360.

mands, told them: "Since in many things ye act contrary to our custom, and even to that of the universal church, yet if ye will obey me in these three points,—that ye celebrate the Passover at its proper time; that ye perform the service of baptism, by which we are born again to God, after the manner of the holy Roman and Apostolic Church; and that ye preach with us the word of God to the nation of the Angles;—as for the other things which ye do, although contrary to our customs, we will bear them all with patience." But they answered, "We will perform none of these, neither will we have thee for an archbishop."*

The following is said to be the substance of a speech which Dunawd, on one of these occasions addressed to Augustine:—

"Be it known, and without doubt unto you, that we all and every one of us are obedient subjects to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity; and to help every one of them, by word and deed, to be the children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know to be due to him whom you name to be pope, or father of fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded; and this obedience we are ready to give and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually; besides, we are under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk, who is to oversee, under God, over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual."†

* Bede, lib. ii. c. ii.

† Spelm. Concil. Brit. p. 108, ex Antiq. MS. It is urged against the authority of this document, that its style is too modern, that it is improbable that it could have been preserved through many centuries of popish ascendancy, and that its statement as to the Bishop of Caerleon is not borne out by historical fact. On these points we may observe in reply,—first, that on comparison with the prosaic works attributed to Cattwg Ddoeth, in the third volume of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, as well as some Triads of equally ancient date, and even certain verses in the alleged poems of Taliesin, the language will not at all appear too recent. But supposing it were so; might not the document under consideration be a translation of the original protest? Indeed, it is much more likely that the conference was carried on in Latin than in the native language of the Britons, as the former would be understood by both parties. Secondly, Sir H. Spelman tells us, that he had the MS. which contained Dun-

When the foreign prelate perceived that all his proposals were thus contemptuously rejected, he told the Britons in a threatening tone, that since they would not have peace with brethren, they should have war with enemies, and if they were unwilling to preach the way of life to the English, they should suffer by their hands the vengeance of death. This prediction was shortly afterwards woefully verified, for Ethelfrith, king of Northumbria, marched against them at the head of an immense army. He was met not far from Chester, by Brochwel Ysgythrog, prince of Powys, with whom stood also a group of priests and monks, chiefly from the college of Bangor Iscoed, who had thus come to the field of battle to pray for their country and Church. The Northumbrian king, observing this novel sight and fearing the effects of their supplications, immediately attacked the unarmed ecclesiastics, and ruthlessly slew of them to the number of twelve hundred persons,—fifty only having saved their life by flight. The monastery of Bangor next fell into his hands, and felt all the effects of his rage. But here his victorious career was checked; for the Welsh princes, having combined their forces, gave him battle, and ultimately routed him with great slaughter.

awd's speech from Mr. Peter Mostyn, a Welsh gentleman, and that it appeared to have been an old MS. transcribed from an older, but without date or author. Now this would connect it seemingly with popish times, or at least with that period in which the claims of the British and Romish communions were hotly discussed, so that there could be no opportunity afforded for fabrication on such a subject as this. It does not look like a forgery, for in that case we might naturally expect to find a greater caution observed in the statement which refers to the metropolitan see. That the document could have been preserved during the sway of popery is not improbable, when we consider that the poems of our earliest bards exhibit sentiments equally unfavourable to the pretensions of Rome. Thirdly, the bishops of Llandaf claimed the primacy in opposition to the assertions of St. David, though both parties were ready to acknowledge at this time that it belonged peculiarly to Caerleon; and this was probably the reason, as they now stood on common ground, why they chose to denominate their archbishop by a title in which they could mutually acquiesce. One point further: the expression, "father of fathers" seems to have been an explanation furnished in the first instance to the Britons, in consequence of the ignorance which they would naturally betray in regard to the strange name of "Pope."

Terms of peace were afterwards agreed upon by both parties ; according to which Ethelfrith was permitted to retain his possessions north of the Humber, whilst Cadvan, the son of Iago ab Beli was to be recognized as the nominal sovereign of the island, and to have practical authority over all the southern provinces.*

It would appear that during the period immediately preceding the late invasion, Powys was ascendant among the principalities of Cymru, and hence furnished an unusual proportion of saints. The destruction of its noble monastery, and pious inmates, who might be considered at this time emphatically as the seeds of the Church, was a severe blow to the religious establishment of the country at large, which even the tranquil reign of Cadvan could not repair. After his death, the British Church was still more depressed, in consequence of the victories of Edwin, the son of Ella, who, for a short time, reduced the whole of the Britons under his sway. Nevertheless, thus in her low estate she was enabled successfully to maintain her ancient privileges, in opposition to the encroachments continually made upon her liberty and independence by the Italian missionaries. Laurentius, who succeeded Augustine in the see of Canterbury, endeavoured, both by arguments and entreaties, to gain over the Scots and Britons to adopt the Romish customs. But of their obstinacy he thus complains, in a letter which he, in conjunction with Mellitus and Justus, addressed on the subject to the former people : “ Knowing the Britons, we thought the Scots had been better ; but we have been informed that the Scots in no way differ from the Britons in their behaviour, for Bishop Daganus, coming to us, refused not only to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the house where we were entertained.”†

We may here, in reference to the history of Edwin, notice a remarkable instance of the vitality and influence of the northern communion, which has been recorded by Nennius, though altogether overlooked or perverted by subsequent writers. It has been almost universally inferred from the language of Bede as

* Brut Tysilio ; Brut G. ab Arthur ; Bede, lib. ii. cap. ii.

† Bede, lib. ii. cap. iv.

to the share which Paulinus had in the conversion of the Northumbrian king, that he actually baptised him. Bede, however, does not say so, whereas Nennius expressly informs us that the holy sacrament was administered by Rhun, the son of Urien. His words are these :

“Eadguin vero in sequenti pascha baptismum suscepit, et duodecim millia hominum baptizati sunt cum eo. Si quis scire voluerit quis eos baptizavit, *Rum map Urbgen baptizavit eos*, et per quadraginta dies non cessavit baptizare omne genus Ambro-num, et per prædicationem illius multi crediderunt in Christo.”*

The compiler of the “Cambrian Biography,” it is true, has not mentioned any of the sons of Urien, who bore the above appellation ; yet this is not sufficient to disprove the existence of such a personage. On the other hand, it singularly happens, that in a poem written by Llywarch Hen, upon the death of his relation Urien, the Bard, having alluded to the sorrow of

* The above is from Stevenson’s edition. It is true that Gale has the following: “Sanctus Paulinus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus eos baptizavit,” without any notice of Rhun ; but it is necessary to bear in mind that Gale adopted, as the basis of his text, a MS. of the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, which contained much interpolation, whereas Stevenson made use of one of the tenth century, which was least vitiated by extraneous matter. In his preface, he affirms that upwards of twenty MSS. of different ages were examined for his edition of Nennius, and that the various readings gained from the collation of them were introduced at the bottom of the page. It is, therefore, remarkable that all of them ascribe the administration of Edwin’s baptism to Rhun, the son of Urien. Two of them, indeed, apparently attempt to identify that individual with Paulinus Archbishop of York ; but as the editor, in reference to those two manuscripts, declares that many of the additions which were written upon their margins had been introduced into the text of other copies, the author of the present work is inclined to infer from such a statement that the explanatory words, “id est, Paulinus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus,” appear in the MSS. on the margin only, but that they have been coupled in the note by Stevenson with the text, merely as various readings of the said manuscripts. But if this be not the case, there is every probability that they originally appeared as marginal illustrations, and were afterwards admitted to the text by some careless transcriber. The two MSS. in question are of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively.

Eurddyl, sister of the deceased prince, turns his attention, in the next place, to an individual of the name of Rhun :

“Were there not given to me by RHUN, greatly fond of war,
A hundred swarms, and a hundred shields?
But one swarm was better far than all.

Were there not given to me by RHUN, the celebrated chief, a canton,
And a hundred lowing kine?
But one gift was better far than these.

In the life-time of RHUN, the peaceless wanderer,
The unjust will wallow in dangers;
May there be fetters of iron on the steeds of rapine.”*

Now may it not be fairly presumed, that the above was none other than the “Rhun mab Urien” of Nennius? The very circumstance of the name not being generally conspicuous in British documents, coupled with the incidental mention of it in the above lines, tends to divest it of the character of forgery and interpolation in the writings of Nennius, as a stickler for the honour of the ancient British Church, if he had a mind to forge, would undoubtedly have selected for his purpose a more illustrious name in the Calendar of Saints. It is true that Llywarch Hen represents Rhun as “greatly fond of war,” and a “peaceless wanderer,” a character incompatible with a “steward of the mysteries of God;” yet it is to be remembered, that in these troublesome times, the defeated chiefs among the Britons very generally devoted the remainder of their lives to the service of religion, within the walls of a monastery, or in the more public exercise of parochial ministrations and other works of piety. Even, in this very poem, mention is made of the military bearing of Dunawd,† who became afterwards the celebrated abbot of Bangor. It is, therefore, not improbable that Rhun, after the loss of his patrimony, should have followed the general fashion, and exchanged his martial armour for the peaceful garb of an ecclesiastic.

* Owen’s Heroic Elegies, &c. p. 33.

† “Dunawd, the knight of the warring field, would fiercely rage,
With a mind determined to make a dead corpse.”

“Dunawd, the hasty chief, would fiercely rage,
With mind elated for the battle.”

This interesting and important event is dated A.D. 627, which was posterior to the invasion of Cymru, so that the humiliation of the Church in that province was not only owing to the natural effects of war, but also to the religious antipathy of the Pagan usurper.

Cadwallon, the son of Cadvan, had been compelled by his rival to flee into Ireland, where he remained seven years.* After the expiration of that period, he returned; and having entered into an alliance with Penda, king of Mercia, vigorously opposed Edwin, and ultimately, A.D. 633, after a desperate battle, in which the Northumbrian king and his son fell, succeeded in recovering his former patrimony, and the monarchy of Britain.† Cadwallon was nominally a Christian; nevertheless, his selection of a heathen ally argues nothing favourable from his successes to the cause of the Church. Llywarch Hen,‡ who has written his elegy, affirms that—

— “he fought fourteen
Great battles for the most fair Britain, and sixty skirmishes.”

And from the poem in question it would appear that those “great battles” were all fought in Cymru, which proves the strong position which his opponent had previously gained there, and the perils and difficulties to which the national religion would be necessarily exposed, even whilst the country was in course of being emancipated from his tyrannical usurpation. The British monarch ably supported his power until about A.D. 660, when he was slain by Oswald, son of Ethelfrith.§

* “The three faithful families of the Isle of Britain: the family of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, who remained with him seven years in Ireland, and during that period they asked of him neither pay nor right whatever, lest they should be obliged to leave him, for he could not have granted their due claims.”—*Triad* 80.

† Brut Tysilio; Brut G. ab Arthur.

‡ Llywarch Hen lived to the patriarchal age of 150, which is the reason why we find his name in this work connected with times so distant from one another.

§ Nennius, Sect. 64. According to Brut Tysilio, he died of a disease. It would appear, from Llywarch Hen, as if his death was hastened by the intrigue of certain ecclesiastics:

His son, Cadwaladr, succeeded to the sovereignty. He was of a peaceable and pious disposition, and hence, as it would seem, the epithet of "Bendigaid" (Blessed) was frequently attached to his name. He is said to have rebuilt the church of Eglwys Ael, in Anglesey, where his grandfather Cadvan had been buried, and which was subsequently called Llangadwaladr. The churches of Llangadwaladr, alias Bishopston, Monmouthshire, and Llangadwaladr under Llanrhaiadr in Mochnant, Denbighshire, are also dedicated to him.* Cadwaladr has been honoured in the Triads as one of "the three canonized kings of the Isle of Britain;"† and also one of "the three sovereigns who conferred blessings," because he "granted the privilege of his land and all his property to the faithful, who fled from the infidel Saxons and the unbrotherly ones who wished to slay them."‡

In order to avoid the effects of a dreadful plague, which broke out in his kingdom, Cadwaladr fled to the continent, where he was hospitably entertained by Alan, king of Armorica. During his absence, however, the power of his enemies in Britain was considerably augmented by the arrival of additional hordes from Germany. The royal fugitive, therefore, when he wished to return home, after the cessation of the pestilence, deemed it expedient to solicit assistance from Alan, with a view to recover his former dominions. It does not appear that Cadwaladr personally attended the expedition which was granted on the occasion, but that he died before it set out, about A.D. 703.§ He was the last of the Cymry, who assumed the title of chief sovereign of the island.

"From the plotting of strangers and *unjust monks*,
As the water flows from the fountain—
Sorrowful will be our lingering day for Cadwallon."

* Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 301.

† Cambrian Biography, vocibus Gwrtheyyr and Tewdrig.

‡ Triad 35. See page 54 of this work.

§ The British chronicles assert that Cadwaladr died at Rome, whilst Nennius, on the contrary, would lead us to conclude that he perished in the pestilence at home. The evidence that he repaired to the continent is however sufficiently strong, though the story about his pilgrimage to Rome probably

Since the destruction of Bangor Iscoed, the interest of the Church continued to be upheld by the following persons :

Grwst, who founded Llanrwst, Denbighshire ; and Nidan, who was an officer in the college of Penmon, Anglesey, and the founder of Llannidan, in the same county ; both descendants of Urien Rheged.

Dyv-nog ;* Cynhaval, the founder of the church of Llangynhaval, Denbighshire ; Collen, who established the church of Llangollen, in the same county ; and Helig Voel† (*the bald*), originally chieftain of a tract of low land, on the coast of Carnarvonshire, which was afterwards overflowed by the sea. When he had thus lost his property, he embraced a religious life, and his example was imitated by his sons, who retired to the colleges of Bangor Deiniol, and Bangor Enlli. Their names were Aelgyvarch ; Boda ; Brothen, the founder of the church of Llanvrothen, Merionethshire ; Bodvan, the patron saint of Aber, Carnarvonshire ; Bedwas, probably the founder of a church so called, in Monmouthshire ; Celynin, who established the church of Llangelynin, Merionethshire ; Brenda ;‡ Euryn ; Gwyar ; Gwynnin, the patron saint of Llandygwynn, Carnarvonshire ; Peris, the founder of Llanberis, in the same county ;§ and Rhychwyn, the patron saint of Llanrhychwyn, a chapel under Trevriw, also in Carnarvonshire. All these were descended from Caradog Vreichvras.||

Usteg, who is said to have officiated as dean of the college

arose from his having been confounded with Ceadwalla the king of Wessex, of whom both Bede and the Saxon Chronicle relate a similar account.

* He is supposed to have been the second saint of Dyvynog, Brecknockshire, which was originally founded by Cynog ab Brychan.—*Rees's Essay*, §c. p. 295.

† His grandfather, Gwgan Gled-dyv Rhudd (*with the ruddy sword*) is distinguished in the Triads as one of "the three centinels of the battle of Bangor Orchard."—*Triad 66 (first series)*.

‡ A saying of his has been recorded :

"Truly saith St. Brenda,
The evil is not less resorted to than good."

Myr. Arch. vol. i. p. 15 ; vol. ii. p. 30.

§ Llangian, a chapel under Llanbedrog, Carnarvonshire, is dedicated to him in conjunction with Cian, who was his servant.—*Rees's Essay*, §c. p. 302.

|| According to some, however, Collen was the son of Petrw ab Coleddog ab Rhydderch Hael.—*Rees's Essay*, §c. p. 302.

of Garmon ; Eldad, his brother, who was a member of the congregation of Illtyd, and afterwards bishop of Gloucester, where he was slain by the Saxons ; Enghenel, the patron saint of Llanenghenel under Llanvachraith, Anglesey ; and Dona, the founder of the church of Llanddona, in the same county ; all in the line of Cadell Deyrnllug.*

Eldad, a descendant of Cynan Meiriadog, and a member of the college of Illtyd.†

Egwad, great grandson of Gildas ab Caw, who founded the churches of Llanegwad and Llanvynydd, in the county of Carmarthen.‡

Edeyrn, of the family of Maelgwn Gwynedd. He was a Bard, and the chapel of Bodedeyrn under Holyhead, is dedicated to him.§

Padrig, the son of Alvryd ab Goronwy ab Gwdion ab Don ; a member of the Society of Cybi, at Holyhead, and the founder of the church of Llanbadrig, in Anglesey. ||

Idloes, the son of Gwyddnabi ab Llawvrodded Varvog Coch, who founded the church of Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire. ¶

Cadell, the great-grandson of Llywarch Hen, to whom Llangadell, a church formerly in Glamorganshire, was dedicated.**

Besides these, there were others of unknown genealogies, who seem to have contributed in no less degree their talents and energies to the furtherance of the same sacred cause. Such were Sadwrn, who is considered to be the patron saint of Henllan, in the county of Denbigh ; Curig Lwyd, a bishop, probably of Llanbadarn Vawr, and the founder of the church of Llangurig,†† Montgomeryshire, whose crozier was preserved in the neighbouring church of St. Harmon in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis ; and the celebrated Gwenvrewi, or St. Winefred, to whom Holywell, in Flintshire, is dedicated.‡‡

* Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 297, 298, 302.

† Ibid. p. 298.

‡ Ibid. § Ib. || Ib. ¶ Ib. Gwdion ab Don, and Llawvrodded Varvog Coch, are ranked in the Triads with Benren, under the appellation of "the three tribe-herdsmen of the Isle of Britain."

** Rees's Essay, &c. p. 295

†† As there was another saint of the same name, it is uncertain which of the two founded the churches of Porth Curig, Glamorganshire, and Eglwys Vair a Churig, Carmarthenshire.

‡‡ Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 298, 307.

Among the saints of this period, connected with Cymru, may be also noticed Edwen, a female of Saxon descent, and, as it appears, daughter or niece of Edwin, king of Northumbria. She is said to have founded the church of Llanedwen, in Anglesey ; which is not improbable, when we consider that Edwin was brought up in the court of Cadvan, king of North Wales, at Caerseiont, or Carnarvon.*

* Ibid, p. 303.

CHAPTER VII.

SUBMISSION OF THE CHURCH.

“The elder shall serve the younger.”—GENESIS xxv. 23.

IVOR and Ynyr, who headed the expedition to Britain, quickly succeeded in recovering Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somersetshire. Peace was then concluded between the two peoples, according to the terms of which Ivor received in marriage Ethelburga, cousin of Centwin the king of Wessex, and was allowed to retain the territories which he had already won. He restored the monastery of Avallon, or Glastonbury, and also endowed the church of Winchester with extensive grants of land, besides other churches both in England and Wales.*

In Brut y Tywysogion,† it is stated, that between A.D. 710 and 720, “a church of Llanvihangel was consecrated ;” and in

* Brut y Tywysogion ; Powell's History of Cambria, p. 10.

† In the second volume of the Myvyrian Archæology is inserted a series of chronicles, two of which are called “ Brut y Tywysogion,” or the Chronicle of the Princes, and were written by Caradog of Llancarvan, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century. Both are printed entirely, “because,” as the editors explain, “they have not the least identity with respect to composition or course of narration.” Another goes under the name of “ Brut y Saeson,” or Chronicle of the Saxons, “not because that it is peculiarly a history of the Saxons, but from its connecting with the affairs of Wales a general review of the transactions of all Britain.” Accompanying these is a fourth, entitled, “ Brut Ieuan Brechva,” or the Chronicle of Ieuan Brechva, bard and historian, about A.D. 1500. The variations in the phraseology of Caradog's Chronicles are accounted for on the idea that, being applied to for copies of his work, he transcribed them in various proportions according to a variety of prices, for

Brut y Saeson, it is said, "in 717 was consecrated a church of Michael." As there is no church of St. Michael in Wales of eminence sufficient to deserve this special notice, it has been inferred that the one in question was the first in the principality dedicated to the Archangel.*

Having reigned thirty years, Ivor went to Rome, leaving his kingdom to Rhodri Molwynog, son of Idwal Iwrch, and grandson of Cadwaladr, who ascended the throne A.D. 720.† In the September of that year, a tremendous flood occurred, which, in addition to other damages, swept away the Church of Llancarvan. About the same time, also, a party of "infidel Saxons" attacked and demolished several churches in the dioceses of Llandaf, Menevia, and Llanbadarn, and put to death Aidan, the bishop of the former place, together with many wise men of his jurisdiction.‡

Rhodri Molwynog was succeeded in the principality of Wales, A.D. 755, by his son Cynan Tindaethwy. The same year, Elvod,§ bishop of Bangor, altered the time of keeping Easter in North Wales; but as the other bishops refused compliance, the Saxons marched against the Cymry of South Wales, and gave them battle at a place called Coed Marchan, in which, however, the latter came off victorious. Shortly after, Cyvelach, the bishop of Morganwg, or Glamorgan, was slain in an engagement which occurred at Hereford between the same people. In 777, the inhabitants of South Wales submitted to the new regulations respecting the Paschal feast; but on the death of Elvod, A.D. 809, a fresh disturbance broke out among the

purchasers of various descriptions. It is also maintained, that some copies might have been written in an early part of his life, from which others written at a more advanced period would very naturally differ, from an accession of additional or more correct knowledge of facts. See *Preface to Myr. Arch.* 2nd vol.

* Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 67.

† Brut y Tywysogion.

‡ Ibid.

§ He is styled in the Brut, "Archbishop of Gwynedd." Nennius, the historian, was his disciple, as appears from Gale's edition, "Ego Nennius Sancti Elbodi discipulus."

ecclesiastics on the same subject, for the bishops of Llandaf and Menevia, maintaining the prerogatives of their own older sees, disdained to acknowledge the authority of Bangor. The following year, St. David's was burnt by the Saxons, and about 817, Cynan died, when the royal issue of Cunedda and Calwaladr, in the male line, became extinct.*

At his death, the reins of government were assumed by his daughter Essyllt, and her husband, Mervyn Vrych,† a descendant of Llywarch Hen. They had most powerful enemies in the persons of Egbert, king of Wessex, and Cenulph, king of Mercia, who separately brought their armies against the principality, and perpetrated many devastations in the country. Egbert prevailed so much, also, over his Saxon rivals, as to succeed eventually in forming the Heptarchy into one kingdom, by the name of England, which acknowledged his monarchical authority. In order to check his encroachments upon Wales, Mervyn deemed it expedient, A.D. 836, to join his forces to those of the Danes,‡ who had then just landed in the principality. They were, however, totally defeated, and a few years afterwards, Mervyn was killed in a battle which was fought between the Cymry and Berthwryd (Burehred), king of Mercia. The Saxons of Mercia had previously, A.D. 831, burnt the monastery of Senghenydd, which is the only event, besides the death of the bishop of Menevia, connected with the Welsh Church, mentioned in the Bruts as having occurred during this reign.§

Rhodri Mawr (*the great*), son of Mervyn Vrych and Essyllt, commenced his reign about A.D. 843, which, like that of his

* Brut y Tywysogion.

† The pedigrees of Henry VII designate him "king of Man."

‡ These are variously denominated in the British chronicles; as "Gentiles," "pagans from Denmark," "black pagans," "the black horde." They were a formidable and ferocious race, and, in conjunction with other barbarians, issued from the peninsula of Jutland, the islands of the Baltic, and the shores of the Scandinavian continent. Matthew of Westminster considers their invasion of England as a judgment upon the people for their degeneracy in religion and morality.

§ Brut y Tywysogion.

father, was one continued warfare with his neighbours, especially the Saxons of Mercia. In 860, a pagan party of English demolished all the churches and monasteries in Gwent, Glamorgan, Dyved, and Cardigan. Ten years after, a battle took place at Bangor, where the Bishop of that see was slain.* The year following, Einion, bishop of St. David's, died, and Hubert, an Englishman,† was appointed in his stead. About the same time, Alfred ascended the throne of England, and one of his first acts was to invite three able teachers, from the College of St. David's, to superintend the university of Oxford, a fact which tells favourably of the state of learning in the principality, even in these days of war and oppression. The persons selected on this occasion, were Asser, who taught grammar and rhetoric; John Menevensis, who read logic, music, and arithmetic; and John Erigena, who professed geometry and astronomy.‡

Rhodri divided his kingdom among his three sons, Anarawd, Cadell, and Mervyn, who are styled in the Triads as "the three

* It would appear from the Brut, that the bishop sided with the English, for thus is it expressed: "The English were slain in great numbers with stones hurled down upon them from the hills, and amongst them the bishop of Bangor."

† Hubert Sais (*the Englishman*).—*Brut*.

‡ Asser was related to Novis Archbishop of St. David's, and is supposed to be identical with Geraint Vardd Glas (*the Blue Bard*) author of a Welsh grammar, which was extant in Rhaglan Castle, before that place was demolished in the wars of Cromwell; and also of some moral pieces, which are printed in the Myvyrian Archaiology. The alleged identity chiefly rests on this: that Asser (*azure*) is a translation of Bardd Glas, and Glas y Gadair, which were the usual appellations of Geraint. Of John Menevensis nothing particular is known except that he was a man of piety and learning. It is said that John Erigena, owing to the turbulent state of Wales, repaired to Athens, where he tarried many years, studying Greek, Chaldee, and Arabic; that he visited the most celebrated seminaries in those days, and then returned, through Italy and Gaul, to St. David's, where he was held in great esteem when Alfred sent for him. (See *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii. p. 53 and 204.) Asser says that their friends consented to their acceptance of Alfred's invitation, because they expected that their college would thereby receive protection against the oppression of Hyveidd, king of Dyved, who had frequently plundered it before.

diademed princes.”* Anarawd, however, the eldest, according to the ancient constitution of the country, was invested with supreme authority over his brothers, and was hence emphatically designated “Prince of Wales,” though the honour was chiefly nominal.

These entered upon their respective dominions, A.D. 876. In 883, died Cydivor, abbot of Llanveithin, who had in his life exhibited great concern for the welfare of the Scots of Ireland, having sent over six of the wise men of his college to instruct them. A.D. 893, the “black pagans,” as the Bruts sometimes denominate the Danes and Normans, crossing the Severn, burnt Llanilltyd Vawr, Cyntig, and Llancarvan, and committed great havoc in Morganwg, Gwent, Brecknock, and Buellt.†

Anarawd was succeeded, A.D. 913, by his son Edwal Voel (*the bald*), who reigned until 940, when he was slain, and his honours assumed by Hywel Dda (*the good*), son of Cadell. A thorough revision of the laws of Wales was undertaken by the authority of Hywel, and was accomplished in the following manner:—

The king took with him Martin, bishop of Mynyw; Mordav, bishop of Bangor; Marehlwys, bishop of Teilo; and Blegwryd ab Owain, chancellor of Llandaf, the brother of the bishop of Morganwg; and proceeded to Rome, with a view to obtain a knowledge of the laws of different countries, to examine their comparative merits, and in particular to advise with distinguished statesmen as to the means of improving the existing code of Wales. Having gained their object, they returned; and Hywel summoned to him six men from every commot in the principality, two of whom were clerical and four lay. They met in the holy season of Lent, and “after a careful research respecting every country and city, the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud were found superior to the whole; therefore, through the learning and instructive exertion of Blegwryd, those were systemized, and were presented for the judgment of the convention, so as to obtain every possible illustration, improvement, and amplification of them.” This done, Hywel went to Rome a se-

* Triad 43.

† Brut y Tywysogion.

cond time, with certain of the nobility, and Lambert, bishop of Mynyw; Mordav, bishop of Bangor; Chebur, bishop of St. Asaph; and Blegwryd, archdeacon of Llandaf; "to procure the sentiment of wise men there, and to be certified that his laws were in concurrence with the law of God, and the laws of the various countries and states of Christendom." They were finally put in force in all the dominions of Wales, and regarded of such worth and excellency as to gain for Hywel the distinctive title of "Dda," or "the Good."* For the same reason, he has been honoured in the Triads as one of "the three patriot kings of the Isle of Britain."†

A.D. 944, Lambert, bishop of St. David's, suffered death at the hands of the English; and four years afterwards, Hywel Dda died, leaving behind him four sons, Owain, Rhun, Rhodri, and Edwyn.‡

These took possession of his estates in South Wales, whilst Ievav and Iago, sons of Edwal Voel, ruled in North Wales. A civil commotion hence ensued, which was prosecuted on both sides with great zeal and obstinacy, until at length the latter princes prevailed, and exercised supreme authority over all Cymru.§

Owain, the son of Hywel, on some occasions directed his arms against sacred institutions. Thus, A.D. 959, he destroyed the monastery of Illtyd in Corwennydd, because he found it occupied by Saxon students, and thence went and utterly demolished the college of Cattwg, in Nantgarvan.||

A.D. 961, the sons of Abloic, king of Ireland, destroyed Holyhead, and carried away the shrine of Cybi to their own country, where it remained for a hundred years.¶ About the same period, Padarn, the bishop of Llandaf, died, and Rhodri

* Brut y Tywysogion.

† Triad 59.

‡ Brut Ieuan Brechva; Brut y Tywysogion.

§ Ibid; Hanes Cymru, p. 410.

|| Brut y Tywysogion.

¶ Ibid. In Brut Ieuan Brechva, Holyhead is said to have been ravaged the year before by the sons of Eidwal Dyved.

ab Morgan was appointed in his stead, against the will of the pope, but was soon removed by poison. At the same time the clergy were instructed not to marry without the pope's licence; but a considerable disturbance arising in consequence within the diocese of Llandaf, it was eventually deemed expedient to withdraw the injunction, and allow them the indulgence which they had hitherto enjoyed.*

Soon after this, an important event in the history of the Cambrian Church took place, namely, the consecration of Gwgan for the see of Llandaf, by Dunstan, the primate of England. It was accomplished through the power and under the protection of Edgar, who presented him on the occasion with the pastoral staff.†

It is said that Edgar, who had acquired considerable authority in Wales, founded in it many monasteries; though, during one of his expeditions, his soldiers devastated a great number of native churches and colleges, and plundered them of their ornaments and other valuable properties. For such sacrileges, and other enormities towards the Welsh Church, which he had been guilty of in his youth, Edgar made a restitution at his death, A.D. 975.‡

The churches in Carnarvonshire suffered severely at the hands of Hywel, the son of Ievav, who, with an army of Saxons, warred against his uncle Iago. He gained the sovereignty about 978, and two years afterwards he led a great party of his English allies against Einion ab Owain ab Hywel Dda. Whereupon Gotffrid ab Harallt§ marched his troops as far as Dyved, which they laid waste, and demolished the cathedral church of St. David's. The Danes, about the same time, overran and pillaged Devon and Cornwall, burned the town of Bodmin, and the cathedral of St. Petroc, with the bishop's house; which occasioned the episcopal see to be removed to St. German's, A.D. 986, when Meredydd ab Owain was prince of Gwynedd,

* Brut y Tywysogion.

† Liber Landavensis, p. 509.

‡ Brut y Tywysogion; Brut Ieuan Breehva.

§ He was the general of the "black horde."

the same people landed in Gwyr, and there burned Côr Cennydd, and some churches. The year following, they arrived in Ceredigion, and ravaged Llanbadarn, Llandydoch, and Llanrhystyd; thence they proceeded to Menevia, where they destroyed the church, and carried away its ornaments. Afterwards they went to Morganwg, and devastated the colleges of Iltyd, Cattwg, Cyngar, the cathedral of Llandaf, and some of the best churches in the land. They next laid waste the whole isle of Anglesey, and because Meredydd was much engaged in the southern part of the principality, the natives received Edwal, the son of Meuric ab Ievav, as their prince. A.D. 992. He had been hitherto under the protection of the monks of Llanveithin, and frequently had their house, in consequence, been attacked by Einion and Meredydd, the sons of Owain, as well as by the Danes and Saxons, with a view to have him taken and put to death.*

After the death of Edwal ab Meuric, there were two military candidates for the sovereignty of Wales: namely, Aedan ab Blegored, in the south, and Cynan ab Hywel, in the north. By the advice, and with the assistance of the former, and Iestin ab Gwrgant, the Danes came to Dyved, A.D. 996, and burned Mynyw, and slew Morgeneu, the bishop of that see. Soon after this, Aedan became king of all Wales; whereupon he gave instructions for the better regulation of the government and laws, and for the restoration of the churches which had been demolished in the war. He was killed A.D. 1015, by Llewelyn ab Seisyllt, who then usurped the throne of Wales. Llewelyn, in his turn, was slain through the treachery of Madog Min, bishop of Bangor, A.D. 1021.†

The same year, the church of St. David's was ravaged by Aulaf, at the head of a body of Danes. Two years afterwards, when Iago ab Edwal reigned in Gwynedd, and Rhydderech ab Iestin in South Wales, two eminent prelates of the Cambrian Church departed this life; Morgynnydd, bishop of St. David's, and Bledri, bishop of Llandaf. The latter is described in the chronicle, as "the chief scholar of Cymru, wherefore was he

* Brut y Tywysogion; Brut Ieuan Brechva.

† Ibid.

denominated Bledri Ddoeth (*the wise.*) So attached was he to knowledge, that he enjoined his clergy in their several churches, to instruct the people in learned books, that every body might know his duty towards God and man." A.D. 1030, Joseph, bishop of Llandaf, issued an injunction against carrying on any secular works on Sundays and holidays; and for the priests to teach the reading of the Scriptures, without pay or reward. He also reformed the parochial festivals or wakes, so that they were celebrated by prayer, arms, and charity, and by a proper commemoration of God and his saints, and their praiseworthy acts. He died A.D. 1043.*

Gruffydd ab Llewelyn, who was now in possession of the throne, reigned until 1061, when he was slain on the field of battle, through the treachery of the same prelate who had brought about his father's death.†

After his decease, Meredydd ab Owain ab Edwin, was made prince of South Wales by Harallt (Harold) and Edward, king of England; whilst Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, half brothers of Gruffydd, assumed the reins of North Wales. The latter died A.D. 1068. Two years later, Menevia and Bangor were laid waste by "infidels,"‡ and Bleuddyd, bishop of the former see, died, and was succeeded by Sulien, "a godly and religious man."§

Bleddyn was killed, A.D. 1072, and Trahaearn, his nephew, succeeded him in the government of North Wales. About 1076, Sulien resigned his see, which was accepted by Abram, "a wise and devout man." A.D. 1079, Menevia was ravaged by "predatory Saxons," Abram died, and the bishopric was forced a second time upon Sulien, "for no one knew as well as he how to counsel a turbulent country and nation."||

* Brut y Tywysogion.

† Ibid.

‡ In one document, they are described as "predatory Saxons;" in another, as "Gentiles." They were probably a mixed party of Danes and Normans, which go also by the name of "black pagans," as already mentioned.

§ He is further represented as "the best in counsel, instruction, and religion, and the defender of all peace and righteousness." (See *Brut y Tywysogion.*)

|| Brut y Tywysogion; Brut y Saeson.

A.D. 1080, Gruffydd ab Cynan* obtained the throne of Gwynedd; and Rhys ab Tewdwr that of South Wales, both being the right heirs to those dominions. The same year, William the Conqueror came on a pilgrimage into Wales, where he bestowed gifts upon the churches, bishops, and priests, and also upon the monasteries and monks. He proceeded as far as St. David's, when Sulien, the primate, again resigned his charge, which was accepted by Wilfrid, an Englishman.†

About A.D. 1087, the shrine of St. David's, with its gold and silver treasures, was stolen by some persons unknown: and the following year, the cathedral was again plundered, and the town set on fire, by Saxon pirates. Sulien, who appears to have been for the third time prevailed upon to superintend the interests of the Cambrian Church, died at this period, and was succeeded by his son Rhyddmarch. Like his father and predecessor, he was distinguished for wisdom and piety, and after his death, which occurred A.D. 1098, "there was an end of instruction for disciples at that place."‡

In the year, 1115, Henry I, with a view to bring the whole Cambrian Church under the jurisdiction of Canterbury, appointed Bernard, a Norman. Bishop of St. David's, and made him, at his consecration, profess subjection to the see of Canterbury, as his metropolis. Bernard, however, soon after his ap-

* Gruffydd ab Cynan built many churches in North Wales, and in the close of his life, he made the following grants: twenty shillings to the church in Dublin, his native place, and an equal sum to all the other principal churches in Ireland, to the church of Menevia, to the monastery of Caer, to the monastery of Shrewsbury, respectively; a larger amount to the church of Bangor: ten shillings to Caer Gybi (Holyhead), as much to Penmon, Celynwag, Eulli (Bardsey), Meivod, Llanarmon, Dineirith, and many other principal churches respectively.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. Sulien had other sons of celebrity, viz. Ioan, Arthyen, and Daniel. The former wrote an eulogy upon his father in about one hundred and fifty Latin verses, which was published by the late bishop Burgess. Of Daniel, the following notice occurs in *Brut y Tywysogion*: "He was reconciler between Gwynedd and Powys in the tumult they had: and there was no one who could find fault with him, or otherwise than praise him, for he was peaceable and beloved by all; and he was the archdeacon of Powys."

pointment, refused to act upon this profession, and endeavoured to re-establish the independent authority of St. David's. The case was ineffectually argued at three several councils: viz. the council of Rheims, summoned by Pope Eugenius, A.D. 1148; the third council of Lateran, held A.D. 1179, by Pope Alexander III; and the council of London, held by Cardinal Hugh in the reign of Henry II. It was eventually brought by Giraldus Cambrensis, the bishop elect, immediately before Pope Innocent III. Here, as it could not be proved that a pall had ever been sent to any of the bishops of Wales, the pope decided against the claims of St. David's; and ever since that see has, together with the other Welsh bishoprics, been subject to the power and jurisdiction of Canterbury.*

* Giraldus Cambrensis; Usher's *Britann. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. v. In the Ecclesiastical Register, exhibited by the pope to Giraldus, the names of the four Welsh bishoprics are given simply, without explaining that any one of them had authority over the rest, or that they were subject to a foreign metropolitan. The account of this particular, as given in Giraldus's own words, is interesting: "Accidit autem, ut vesperâ quadam, cum at Papam in camerâ suâ Giraldus accessisset; eum semper eum benignum satis et benevolum, ut videbatur, invenire consueverit; tunc forte præter solitum amicabilem magis et affabilem ipsum invenit. Inter primos igitur affatus, eum de jure Menevensis Ecclesiæ Metropolitico mentio facta fuisset; præcepit Papa Registrum afferri, ubi de universo fidelium orbe singulorum regnorum, tam Metropoles per ordinem, quam earum quoque Suffraganeæ numerantur Ecclesiæ Pontificales. Et cum vertetur ad regnum Anglorum, scriptum in hunc modum ibidem et lectum fuit: '*Cantuariensis Metropolis Suffraganeas habet Ecclesias istas, Roffensem, Londoniensem,*' et cæteras per ordinem. Enumeratis autem singulis Suffraganeis Ecclesiasticis Angliæ; interposita Rubrica tali *De Wallia*, prosequitur in hunc modum. '*In Wallia Menevensis Ecclesia, Landavensis, Bangoriensis, et de Sancto Asaph.*' Quo audito, subjecit Papa quasi insultando et subridendo, Ecce Menevensis Ecclesia connumeratur. Respondit Giraldus: Sed non eo modo connumeratur ista vel aliæ de Walliâ per accusativum scilicet, sicut Suffraganeæ de Angliâ. Quod si fieret, tunc revera reputari possent subjectæ. Cui Papa. Bene, inquit, hæc nostâsti. Sed est et aliud, quod similiter pro vobis et Ecclesiâ vestrâ facit, de Rubricâ sc. interpositâ; quæ quidem in Registro nusquam apponitur, nisi ubi transitus fit, de regno ad regnum, vel Metropoli ad Metropolim. Verum est, inquit Giraldus: Et Wallia quidem portio est regni Anglicani et non per se regnum. Ad quod Papa. Unum sciatis, quod non est contra vos Registrum nostrum."

The foregoing, extracted chiefly from the Bruts, present us with a view of the principal events which happened to the Cambrian Church during the supremacy of the several princes. The evils enumerated were in most instances the natural effects of war, whether domestic or external. The former was caused by the rivalry or ambition of contemporary reguli, and was almost of perpetual duration, the only intervals of comparative tranquillity being perhaps the reigns of Hywel Dda, and Llewelyn ab Seisyllt.* The external quarrels of the Cymry were with the Saxons principally; then with the Danes, who first landed in Britain, A.D. 795. These people were extremely cruel and barbarous, but though they conquered England, and made frequent attempts upon Wales, they never succeeded in gaining a settlement in the latter country, except perhaps for a short time in the Isle of Anglesey, about A.D. 968. They had also to encounter the Normans, A.D. 1069. But so turbulent and anomalous was the state of the country at large, that the Welsh sometimes proceeded to the extent of employing one enemy to assist them in their efforts against another. Thus, about 836, they united with the Danes in opposition to Egbert: Mareddydd hired the same people when he warred against Morganwg, and Hywel against South Wales. Some even submitted to external authority, with a view to secure their dominions against the encroachments of their own countrymen, as Hyveidd, king of Dyved, and Elised, king of Brycheiniog, did to Alfred, because of the oppression of the sons of Rhodri.

* Hywel "loved tranquillity and justice, and feared God, and governed conscientiously in every peaceful righteousness. He was greatly beloved by all the Cymry, and by many of the wise men of England and other countries, wherefore was he called Hywel the Good."—Llewelyn "loved peace and righteousness, and, in his time, Cymru was for twelve years without war, and the inhabitants became rich beyond what they had been for a long time." "He placed his brother, Hywel ab Seisyllt, on the throne of Gwynedd, and so between them they governed all Cymru honourably and justly. And in their time the Cymry became rich, and the earth fruitful, and the seasons genial; and peace and law had thus proper place in the country; and all families had their houses, and all houses their families; and every land its tiller, and every tiller his land, so that plenty and abundance happened to the whole country."—*Brut y Tywysogion*; *Brut Ieuan ab Brechva*.

Hywel, the son of Rhys, king of Glewysig, and Brochmail and Efernmail, sons of Meurig, kings of Gwent, likewise acknowledged the supremacy of Alfred in return for his protection against Earl Eadred, and the men of Mercia. Anarawd and his brothers made a similar submission. Such impolitic measures on the part of the Cymry, contributed much to destroy their nationality by the introduction of extraneous influence and habits. We accordingly find that the principality in general became tributary to Athelstan, though the inhabitants afterwards recovered their independence. Edgar, in like manner, appears to have acquired an ascendancy over some of the native reguli, as he is seen settling their internal disputes, and ultimately compelling them to pay him tribute.*

The proselyting spirit of the Anglican ecclesiastics would naturally urge them to avail themselves of the civil advantages of their countrymen, to extend the influence of their Church. Accordingly, as we have seen, English monks intruded themselves into colleges in Wales, and an Englishman was even appointed to preside over the archiepiscopal see of St. David's as early as the ninth century. Indeed, the benefit would be mutual, for whilst the state afforded its protection to the Church, the latter would in return do all in its power to secure the authority of the state. It was doubtlessly on this principle that Edgar founded religious houses in Wales, and consented to the subjecting of Llandaf to the authority of Canterbury. Owain ab Hywel Dda evidently dreaded the political intrigue of alien Churchmen, when he attacked the monasteries of Illtyd and Cattwg.†

That religion formed a prominent ingredient in the martial

* Brut y Saeson; Brut y Tywysogion; Brut Ieuan Brechva. Harold likewise seems to have gained great power over some parts of Wales. It is related by Giraldus Cambrensis, that he used to set up stones in different parts of the country to commemorate his victories, with this inscription, "Hic fuit victor Haroldus." And the Saxon accounts assert that he and his brother Tosti reduced the whole country into a state of tributary subjection, which is hardly credible, as it is not supported by the authority of the Bruts, where the fact would not have been left unnoticed any more than the instances of Athelstan and Edgar.

† Ibid.

movements of the day is sufficiently manifest from several instances which have been recorded in this chapter. Thus the paschal question is expressly said to have not only excited disturbances among the natives, but also to have provoked the attacks of the English nation. In like manner, the papal bull relative to the celibacy of the clergy, was productive of no small tumult in the southern portion of the principality. The treachery of Madog Min, and the deaths of other prelates, brought about by open foes, in some cases on the field of battle, and the assaults which were expressly made upon sacred edifices, all unite to establish the truth of our assertion.

But independently of political operations, the friendship which was sometimes accidentally contracted between dignitaries of the rival Churches, contributed greatly towards effecting an union between them. For instance, Asser, who was tutor to king Alfred, and afterwards bishop of Shirburne, must necessarily have assimilated his views to those of the Anglican society, and accordingly exercised his influence in the same direction with the students of Cŏr Ddewi, and perhaps with other churchmen in the diocese of Menevia, if not with his relative, Novis, the primate of Wales.

All the above circumstances tended, in various degrees, to destroy the distinctive character of the ancient British Church, until at length its metropolitical dignity actually merged in the see of Canterbury.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHURCH AND BARDISM.

“The word of God increased ; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly ; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith.”—Acts vi. 7.

THERE was a general expectation throughout the ancient world of a mighty personage, who should one day appear on earth. This was primarily founded upon the divine promise made in Eden, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head,* which, being regarded as a fundamental article in the patriarchal creed, was at the dispersion carried into all lands. To the Jews it was afterwards successively renewed by their prophets ; and more fully revealed, as the time for its accomplishment drew nigh. And even some of the Gentiles appear to have received a reassurance from heaven that “the desire of all nations should come.”† Such were Balaam, who predicted that “there should come a star out of Jacob, and that a sceptre should rise out of Israel ;”‡ and Job, who “knew that his Redeemer lived, and that he should stand at the latter day upon the earth.”§ Moreover, the extensive intercourse which the peculiar people of God latterly had with the surrounding nations, tended undoubtedly to confirm and explain their vaguer traditions, and to raise their expectations to a very high pitch on the subject.

* Gen. iii. 15.

† Hag. ii. 7.

‡ Numb. xxiv. 17.

§ Job. xix. 25. The promise of the *golden age*, or the *regeneration*, was contained also in the Sibylline and other oracles,—the Clarian, Dodonean, Pythian, Ammonian, &c.

The isolated state of the Britons would preclude them from the advantage to be derived from this intercourse, except perhaps in the case of the southern tribes, who might gain it indirectly through the Phœnicians. The Irish probably obtained much of their notion through the same channel; for that they looked for a Saviour, is clear from Fiech's* Panegyric on St. Patrick, where we are told—

“ The diviners o' Erin predicted—
‘ New days of peace shall come,
Which shall endure for ever.’ ”

Nevertheless, as the Cymry surpassed most other nations in their traditionary art, we reasonably conclude that they had not wholly obscured this most essential and interesting feature of the primitive religion. Indeed, we find their Druids maintaining a belief that, at some future time, the power of evil and devastation (cythraul, the devil) would be utterly annihilated, and all animated beings brought to the eternal “ circle of felicity.”† This seems clearly to refer to the restoration of the golden age which the heathens expected, and which was actually fulfilled when “ the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.” They believed also that celestial beings occasionally revisited the earth, to inform man of his duty, and to reveal to him the knowledge of that supernal existence to which he would be entitled by a perseverance in the path of virtue.‡ This idea would easily merge into the Scriptural doctrine of Christ coming into the world to “ tell us of heavenly things,” and finally to translate us into his own kingdom of everlasting glory. Further, it is thought that several of their symbols and rites were emblematical of the Messiah

* Fiech was a disciple of St. Patrick, and soon after his death he wrote his Panegyric in Irish verse, which is admired for its simplicity, elegance, and orthodoxy. It was first published by Colgan in his “ *Triadis Thaumaturgæ*,” 1647, or *Lives of St. Patrick, Columba, and Bridget*; and has been recently republished in the “ *Rerum Hibernicarum*,” prol. i. p. 90-96, from one of the most ancient Irish MSS. the “ *Donnegal*.”—See *Hales's Essay on the Origin and Purity, &c.*

† See Introduction.

‡ Ibid.

and the blessings of his reign. Thus it is not improbable that they would typify him under the emblem of the misletoe, which they regarded with peculiar veneration, and as sent from heaven, if found on the symbol of the Almighty—the oak. They called it Oll-iach (all-heal, or the curer of all ills), by which term they might intend to remind themselves and the people of the benefits which the Saviour, “the plant of renown,” would confer on them.* They might not have altogether lost sight of the primary intention of sacrifices, which prefigured the death and atonement of the Redeemer.

However, it is historically proved that the Druidical priests of the Cymry easily embraced Christianity on its first introduction into the island. The relation in which the Church and Bardism subsequently stood to each other, becomes therefore a matter of interest, which it will be the object of this chapter to trace and illustrate.

It is affirmed by two of the most eminent Welsh antiquarians of modern times,† themselves members of the Bardic order, that the Druids in Britain continued as ministers of the Church until about the period of Garmon and Bleiddian. They do not,

* Identity of the Hebrew and Druidical Religions; Patriarchal Religion of Britain, p. 87. In reference to the oak, as the symbol of Deity, Taliesin has these lines :—

“The oak, the mover!

Before him heaven and earth would tremble—

A severe foe——.”

† Namely, Dr. W. O. Pughe, and Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg). The words of the former are,—“The functions of the Christian priesthood continued to be exercised exclusively by the different orders of the Bards, amongst the Cymry, until nearly about the time of Germanus and Lupus, about the beginning of the fifth century.” (*Introduction to Ll. Hen.* p. lx.) “On the introduction of Christianity, the *Bardd* still acted as priest under the privilege of his order, as his maxims were perfectly consonant, as far as they went, with the doctrines of Revelation, his system still remained the same.” (*Dict. sub voc.* Bardd.) The latter asserts: “The Bards, or Druids, continued for many centuries after they became Christians, the ministers of religion, even till, and probably in some places long after, the time of . . . Germanus and Lupus; this is pretty evident from our oldest and most authentic manuscripts.” (*Lyric Poems*, vol. ii. p. 203.)

it is true, support their assertion by any express reference to authorities; nevertheless, we may, from various circumstances, reasonably infer that such was the case.

The doctrines of Christianity, so consonant with the patriarchal principles and anticipations of Bardism, and propounded by Bran, who was himself a member of the order, would naturally be received by the most enlightened Druids. The example of royalty, and the disturbed state of the country, which prevented the due convening of a national Gorsedd, would protect them from the ban of excommunication,* and consequently their connexion with the system would still be acknowledged. And as the ancient hierarchy of the Cymry was so distinctly marked, and as the number of converted Druids kept pace with the spiritual wants of the infant Church, we cannot imagine that candidates would offer themselves unconstitutionally,—or if they did, that their claims would be admitted. Nothing but opposition to the Gospel would have justified such a course, and of that we have no evidence whatever. The laws of Dyrnwal Moelmud, which recognised the Druid as the sole minister of religion,† were still in force,‡ and this consideration would induce us moreover to agree with the Welsh lexicographer, that, long after the conversion of the Britons to Christianity, their clergy were called by this term.§

* A degraded Bard was called, “a man deprived of privilege and exposed to warfare.”

† “His (the Druid-bard’s) duty is to give moral and *religious* instruction in the convention of the Bards, in the palace, in the *place of worship*, and in every family, in which he has full privilege.” (*Laws of Dyrnwal Moelmud*; Tr. 71.) “Men of learning (identified in another place with Druids) have the privilege of teachers, that is, a rate from every plough within the district in which they are *authorised* teachers.” (*Ib.* Tr. 193.)

‡ “Ille (Dunwallo Molmutius) sapientiâ æque ac auctoritate pollebat, et leges bonas primus in hac insulâ instituit, quæ valere ad tempus Hoëli Boni Cadeli F.”—*Wotton’s Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. cap. xix. i.

§ Introduction to Il. Hen. p. xxxviii. Though we may not insinuate that the ecclesiastical term *clerus* was derived from *cler*, which was a name given to “the teachers, or learned men of the druidical order, who, under the primitive bardic system were by privilege employed in going periodical circuits to instruct the people, answering the purpose of a priesthood,” yet the similarity

The first legislative enactment in favour of the Church as such, of which we have any account, proceeded from Cyllin the saint, who sanctioned the imposition of what we strongly presume to be baptismal names.* A more extensive alteration was afterwards authorized by Lleirwg, when he legally transferred and permanently secured to the Christian priesthood, in its distinctive character, the civil immunities and privileges which belonged to the pagan Druids of old.†

The same laws continued to be uniformly and practically observed among the Cymry‡ until the close of the Roman domination; for their jealousy of foreign interference naturally prevented them from heedlessly varying or dividing their own peculiar polity. On their emancipation, however, their national harmony was disturbed by the ambition and rivalry of petty princes, who now rose into power, and established independent kingdoms in defiance of the monarchical supremacy. This circumstance hampered the energies and free operation of the Bardic institution,§ and consequently drove the Church to dispense with the usual qualifications, in order to supply the deficiencies of her priesthood. The example of the continental communions, with which she had now frequent intercourse, would reconcile her to this proceeding. Candidates for the ministry were at this time trained up in monastic schools, which then began to arise and multiply in the country,—a provision of the Church which appears to have long since received the

of the words is remarkably singular. *Cler* was in use among the Britons long before Christianity, and it would seem that, by adopting the *second* import of the word, the Carthaginians committed the blunder of calling the British islands, *Oestrymnides*, that is, islands infested by *gad-flies*, instead of by *Cler-Druids*.

* See page 64.

† Page 70.

‡ Particularly in Siluria.

§ Not that Bardism, during the Roman domination, was altogether free from interruption. Still, as the opposition was from without, and their civil polity uniform, it would have but weakened their nationality to separate Bardism from the state. Therefore, wherever the Church suffered from her connexion with that system, a distinct provision was made adequate to her demands, as in the instances of Cyllin and Lleirwg.

sanction of government, when Cyllin endowed the college of Eurgain.*

Whilst this separation was in progress, a modification of the ancient alphabet was adopted in the ecclesiastical schools, which was distinguished by the name of "The Monks' Token Stick."† It was a mean between the Bardic and Roman characters, approximating perhaps nearer to the latter, though angular, and suitable to be engraved on wood, which argues that the Peithynen was not abandoned. Another modification was shortly afterwards introduced, adapted for stones, specimens of which may be seen in Llanilltyd Vawr, Llangrallo, Y Merthyr Mawr, Llandochan, Pen Arth, and other churchyards in the principality.‡

About the era of Garmon and Bleiddian, as we have elsewhere noticed, a prince of the name of Beli formed a code of regulations, which he invited the Bards to adopt, wherein many deviations from the original institution were discernible. As this is the first alteration in the laws of Bardism which we read of since the time of Lleirwg, and as it occurred just at the period we naturally look for it, we may well suppose that the exclusive right of the Bards to the Christian priesthood was now authoritatively repealed. This is the view of Dr. O. Pughe, and it will be remembered that we have already advanced a theory respecting the origin and tenets of Beli, which increases the probability.§

Not only did the Druids continue as priests of the Church, but also they officiated in their ancient circles. This will appear from the fact that many of those places which we now regard as Druidical temples retain, in their names and other circumstances, traces of their having been once connected with Christianity. Thus we find Carn Moesen (the tumulus of Moses) in

* Page 65.

† "The Welsh monks were very hospitable to the primitive bards, and used to receive them in their old age under the protection of their asylum. Such a disposition undoubtedly occasioned the token-stick of the monks."—*Essay on Coelbren y Beirdd*, by Taliesin Williams, p. 33.

‡ Ibid.

§ Pages 113-114, note.

Glamorganshire, and Carn y Groes (the tumulus of the Cross) on the mountain of Gelli Onen in the same county, where a very ancient cross stands. A cromlech in Llanhamlach, county of Brecon, goes by the name of Ty Illtyd. Another stone in Cardiganshire is called Carreg tair groes (the stone of the three crosses.)* It is remarkable also, that the second "principal choir" of the church succeeded the second "congress of continued song" of the Bardic institution on the plains of Caradawg, the original erection of which is considered as the second "mighty labour of the Isle of Britain."†

It will be recollected, as a further confirmation of our view on this subject, that the fifth century was peculiarly the era in which ecclesiastical edifices began to be built in the land of Cymru. These too in some instances retained the Bardic term Côr (a round), as Cor Illtyd, Cor Cattwg, Bangor, &c. Probably the first churches were of a circular form, and to them Taliesin alludes when he speaks of "ecclesiæ rotundæ."‡

The selection of the clergy from the Bardic college is further attested by the fact of their being, as far as we can learn, invariably of noble parentage,§ which seems contrary to the general custom of Christendom until the era of Constantine.||

A part of the Bardic costume was continued by the early priests of Britain. This was an azure garment, similar in form to the Roman toga, with a hood to it, and was called Bardd-

* W. Owen's Llywarch Hen, Introduction, p. xxxviii; Dr. Jones's History of Wales, pp. 311, 317.

† "The three principal choirs of the isle of Britain: Bangor Illtyd Varchawg (*the knight*), in Caer Worgan; Cor Emrys, in Caer Caradawg; and Bangor Wydrin, in the isle of Avallen."—*Triad* 84.

"The three congresses of continued song of the Isle of Britain: the congress of Beiscawen, in Dynwal; the congress of Caer Caradawg, in Lloegr; and the congress of Bryn Gwyddon, in Cymru."—*Essay on Coelbren y Beirdd*, p. 38.

"The three mighty labours, &c." See p. 118.

‡ Myv. Arch. v. i. 170.

§ According to the testimony of Mela (iii. 2), the disciples of the Druids were *nobilissimi gentis*.

|| Stillingfleet's Origin. Britan. p. 178.

gweewll. The Gauls borrowed it from the British Bards, and wore it remarkably long. From them it passed into Rome, where it obtained the name of Bardo-cucullus; it was adopted by the monks, and is still worn by the Capuchin friars, and something like it by the graduates of the English universities.*

Under the influence of the connexion which we have described, there were some practices of Druidical origin allowed to remain, and recognised by the law of the land, even when others more strictly evangelical had been introduced. Such was the mode of joining hand in hand† in swearing, which the code of Hywel Dda authorised in certain cases, as those of buying and selling.‡ But this was now invested with a sort of ecclesiastical character, for it was enacted that it should be performed in the house of God, by the baptized; and that the Church should excommunicate all who were guilty of having violated their faith there so solemnly pledged.§

Several terms were borrowed from the Bardic theology to express ideas in the creed of the Christian. Thus “Nevoedd,” which originally meant the delightful renovations of eternity, was made to stand for “heaven.”|| “Ufern,” the state of reprobation in the doctrine of transmigration, and “Oerwern,” the seat of the lowest existence, were both, under the Christian system, used for “hell;” and “Cythraul,” the principle of destruction, signified the “devil.”¶

On the other hand, the peculiar acts of Bardism were deeply impressed with the spirit of Christianity. For instance, the name of our Saviour—IESU (Jesus), was adopted as the motto for Cadair Gwynedd, or the chair of Venedotia.** Talhaiarn, the chaplain of Emrys Wledig, composed a prayer which has ever since been the formula used in the Gorsedd Morganwg, or Session of the Bards of Glamorgan. It is as follows:

* Dr. Pughe's Dict. sub. voc. *Barddgweewll*; James's Patriarchal Religion, p. 70; Martial; Samme's Britannia, p. 116.

† See page 71. ‡ Wotton's Leges Wallicæ, lib. ii. c. v. § Ibid.

|| E. W.'s Poems, vol. ii. p. 107.

¶ Dr. Pughe's Dict. sub. vocibus Triads of Bardism

** W. Owen's Llywarch Hen, Int. p. xlvii.

“ God, grant thy protection, and in thy protection strength, and in strength discretion, and in discretion justice, and in justice love, and in love to love God, and in loving God to love all things.”*

When the union between the Church and Bardism was severed, the members of the latter institution were not necessarily disqualified to receive holy orders. It was their right to the priesthood in virtue of their profession, that was denied; and we accordingly find that at subsequent times several Bards ranked among the bishops and clergy of the Church. Dewi, Padarn, and Teilo, were “ the three blessed Bards of the Isle of Britain,” the latter of whom was intimate with two other Bards, who were saints and founders of churches, viz. Gwrhir and Ystyfan.† Several others might be mentioned, even down to our own days.

The new regulations which Beli proposed were not universally agreed to or adopted by the Bards. Those, however, who complied were called by the others, in derision, *Beirdd Beli* (the Bards of Beli) and *Over Veirdd* (pseudo-Bards). And if a right to the priesthood was one of the articles which the primitive bards still asserted, they found it impossible, being a minor body, and deprived of the support of government on this head, to enforce their claim.‡ Yet they, as well as their conforming

* Dr. Pughe's Dict. voce *Gweddi*.

† See p. 133.

‡ “ From this period, the regular *Beirdd Ynys Prydain* are only to be considered a small sect, though still venerated by the people, on account of their peaceable principles; and they still possessed a considerable degree of influence, as long as the Cymry enjoyed their own government; but when that was lost, by the fall of the last Llywelyn, Bardism had nearly been totally annihilated.” (*W. Owen's Ll. Hen. Intr.* p. lxi.) There can be very little doubt of the existence of Bardism to the era just mentioned; however, for the sake of such as are not extensively versed in the history of Wales, we will record a few names which may exemplify our assertion: Anenrin, 510-560; Taliesin, 520-570; Merddin, 530-600; Llywarch Hen, 550-640; Golyddan, 560-630; Meigant, 600-650; Elaeth, 640-700; Tysilio, 660-720; Cuhelyn, 770-800; Llevoed, 900-940; Meilyr, 1120-1160; Gwalchmai, 1150-1190; Cynddelw, 1150-1200; Gwynvardd Brycheiniawg, 1160-1220; Llywelyn Vardd, 1230-1280; Bleddyn Vardd, 1250-1290; Madawg ab Gwallter, 1250-1300. The above dates are from the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, vol. i.; where may be also seen several com-

brethren, continued obedient to the faith, aiding in the diffusion of learning, witnessing for Catholic truth in their poetical compositions, and by their quiet and dutiful conduct in general proving themselves loyal subjects and good churchmen.

positions by the said Bards. We can likewise furnish an authentic list of bardic names from the time when the order was altogether deprived of patronage, and exposed to rigorous persecution. The following, from a MS. of the late Mr. John Bradford, is a pedigree of the Bards who presided over the chair of Glamorgan:—Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr, 1300; Hywel Bwr Bach 1330; Davydd ab Gwilym, 1360; Ieuan Hen, 1370; Ieuan Tew Hen, 1420; Ieuan Gethin ab I. ab Lleision, 1430; Gwilym Tew, 1460; Meredydd ab Rhosser, 1470; Ieuan Deulwyn, 1480; Iorwerth Vynglwyd, 1500; Lewys Morganwg, 1520; Meiryg Davydd, 1560; Davydd Benwyn, 1560; Llywelyn Sion, 1580; Wat-ein Pywel, 1620; Edward Davydd, 1660; Davydd or Nant, 1680; Samuel Jones, Ofeiriad, 1700; Davydd Hopcin, or Coetty, 1730; Sion Bradford, 1760; Edward Williams (a disciple).

CHAPTER IX.

CHURCH AND STATE.

“ Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake ; whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.”
—1 PETER ii. 13, 14.

THE incorporation of the Cambrian Church with Bardism involves likewise its union with the State ; and in the earliest stage of its history it enjoyed civil advantages, merely as the religious department of the primitive system of the country. As we have seen, the first direct interference on the part of the state with ecclesiastical matters, appears to have been in the reign of Cyllin. The next, which was on a more extensive scale, took place when Lleirwg was nominally monarch of Britain. They were in each case favourable to the peculiar requirements of the Church, and confined especially to the immediate jurisdictions of the said kings. The king, under the ancient system, could alter nothing which respected learning and religion, of his own arbitrary will : he could only “ consent” to what had been originally proposed by the Bardic college. “ For neither law, regulation, art, nor any kind of knowledge of the sciences, can acquire any privilege, unless they are shewn to be true by illustration and instruction ; and this is to be done by the decision of masters and wise men who are duly authorised, by instruction, sciences, and authority, according to the privileged regulations of the country and the tribe.”* Eleutherius advised Lleirwg to adhere to this custom, and moreover to see that his enactments were in strict accordance with the intention of Holy

* Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud, Tr. 63. See p. 69.

Scripture. In the letter which he addressed to him on the subject, he designates him "God's vicar in his own dominions," and as such he declares it to be his duty, in relation to his subjects, "to promote unity and good understanding amongst them; to bring them to a submission to the Gospel, and into the bosom of the Church; to restrain them from disorder; to support, protect, and govern them, and screen them from the insults of injurious malice."*

This lesson was practically observed by all succeeding kings and princes, according to their means and the peculiar circumstances of the times, until the extinction of the metropolitical dignity of Wales. Even at the time when the Church was shaking off her alliance with Bardism, and when the whole country was in a state of disorganization, there was no want of union among the tribes in favour of Catholicism: the Pelagians were expelled from the island by *common consent* (*omnium sententiâ*).†

The British Church appears to have from the first regulated its external affairs in accordance with the civil constitution. Hence arose the rival claims of Caerleon and Llandaf to represent the ecclesiastical primacy of Cymru, as having been the respective seats of the Roman and native governments. After the departure of the Romans, the native monarchs resided principally at Caerleon, and so stamped that see with pre-eminence, though the influence of the kings of Glamorgan enabled the partizans of Llandaf still to assert their claims.‡ We are expressly informed in the Triads that the seats of the three archbishoprics in the time of Arthur coincided exactly with the royal courts,—at Caerleon in Cymru, Celliwig in Cornwall, and Penrhyn Rhienydd in the North.§

Such arrangements were marked out in the first instance by the rulers of the Church, and afterwards sanctioned by the civil government, under the impression, doubtless, that they were the best adapted for supplying the whole nation with a propor-

* Page 67.

† Constant. lib. ii. cap. 3 et 4.

‡ "As the Church of Rome has dignity above all the Churches of the Catholic faith, so the Church of Llandaf exceeds all the Churches of southern Britain in dignity, and in privilege, and in excellency."—*Liber Landavensis*, p. 373.

§ Triad 64. See p. 127.

tionate share of the blessings of Christianity. This principle of mutual consent, where temporalities were concerned, was adopted in the foundation of sees, and the appointment of bishops to fill them. For example, Maelgwn Gwynedd confirmed the bishopric of Llanelwy, bestowing upon it divers lands, immunities, and privileges, though it had been founded previously as a spiritual see by Cyndeyrn.* Similarly, Dewi was obliged to obtain the permission of Arthur to remove the metropolitan see from Caerleon to Menevia.† And that the king did sanction episcopal appointments at an early period, is evident from the instances of Dyvrig and Samson, who were elevated by Emrys Wledig to the sees of Caerleon and York respectively.‡ In like manner, Oudoceus was established in Llandaf by king Meurig, having been before chosen thereto by bishops, abbots, and laity.§ In short, then, it was by virtue of the royal seal that the bishop elect was confirmed in the temporalities of his diocese, which were under the protection of the reigning prince.

In Hywel Dda's laws, the great principle of the union between Church and State is declared to consist in the duty of the sword to protect the pastoral staff.|| It appears moreover that the bishop and abbot, as well as the king, had their own independent tribunals, called "prerogative courts," where they were enabled to guard against encroachments upon the rights and honours with which their respective establishments were invested.¶ Nevertheless, the supremacy of the king is distinctly acknowledged: "To the king belongs the land of all the kingdom."** All holders of church property were accordingly required, on the accession of a new king, to prove before him their privileges and immunities, in order to be confirmed in the

* Willis' Survey of St. Asaph, by E. Edwards, A.M. Appendix I.

† Rees's Essay, &c. p. 197.

‡ See p. 119.

§ Liber Landavensis, p. 372.

|| "Gladus pedum pastorale protegere debet."—*Wotton's Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxviii.

¶ "Tres sunt curiæ prærogativæ: 1. Curia Regis, 2 et Curia Episcopi, 3 et Curia Abbatis. Unusquisque enim horum trium curiam auctoritate propria tenere potest."—*Ibid.* lib. iv. 141.

** *Ibid.* lib. iv. 126.

same.* And if they did not fulfil the conditions of their tenure, the sovereign had power to dispossess them. Those conditions consisted, for the most part, either in rents, services, duties, mulets, or attendances of various degrees.† There were some dignitaries, however, who were totally exempt from all, save that ordinary homage which they owed in common with every other subject. Thus the Church of Menevia is declared in Hywel's code to be entirely free.‡ But though the king could deprive bishops and abbots of their temporalities, in case they fell short of their due allegiance, he might not alienate those rights from the institutions to which they had been originally granted, without incurring the awful censure of the Church.§

But if the Church was protected in her rights by the civil ruler, his authority was conferred upon him through the representatives of Christ: so, for instance, Arthur was consecrated king by archbishop Dyvrig. The affairs of the nation were hallowed by the Church, and transacted under her direction and guidance. Hywel Dda would not revise the laws without the aid of a proportion of the clergy; "and the reason why he summoned the clergy was, lest the laity should enact any thing which was contrary to Holy Scripture." And they met in Lent; "and the reason why they met in Lent was, because all persons ought to be just in that sacred season, and should commit no error in the time of holiness."||

* Ibid. lib. ii. cap. viii.

† One of the most universal tokens of subjection appears to have been the *obediw*, which was a sum of money, or portion of goods paid to the lord upon the death of a tenant. "Bona mortui episcopi omnia regi addicentur, exceptis vestimentis et jocalibus, cæterisque ad ecclesiam pertinentibus." *Ib.* lib. ii. cap. xiii. et lib. iv. 141.

‡ "Menevia libera est ab omni servitio."—*Ib.* lib. ii. cap. ix.

§ Liber Landavensis, *passim*.

|| *Myv. Arch.* vol. iii. p. 361. Notwithstanding, certain clauses seem to have been adopted at variance with the canon law. Thus we read: "*Lex ecclesiastica* statuit neminem patri succedere præter filium natu maximum de uxore sua legitima procreatum. *Per leges autem Hoëli*, filio natu minimo pariter ac maximo hereditas adjudicatur, et per easdem decernitur quod nec peccatum nec crimen patris nocbit liberis quominus ad patris hereditatem admittantur." *Wotton's Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. cap. xvii.

CHAPTER X.

FOUNDATION AND ENDOWMENT OF CHURCHES.

“ But will God indeed dwell on the earth ? Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee ; how much less this house that I have builded ? ”
—1 KINGS viii. 27.

THE following extract from Bede will explain the mode in which the primitive Christians of this island consecrated the sites and precincts of their churches.—

“ The man of God, wishing by prayer and fasting to purge the place of its former pollution of wickedness, and so to lay the foundations of the monastery, entreated the king that he would grant him the means and permission to dwell there for that purpose during the whole time of Lent, which was then at hand. In all the days of this time, except on the Sunday, he always prolonged his fast, according to custom, until the evening ; and even then he took only a small piece of bread and one egg, with a little milk mixed with water. He said that this was the custom of those from whom he had learned a rule of regular discipline, that they should first consecrate with prayer and fasting those places which had been newly obtained for founding a monastery or church. When ten of the forty days were remaining, a person came, and summoned him to the king ; but that the sacred work might not be discontinued on account of the king’s business, he desired his presbyter Cynibill, who was also his own brother, to complete the pious beginning ; who having readily complied, and the exercise of fasting and prayer being completed, he (Cedd) built there a monastery, which is now called Laestingaen, and established it with religious cus-

toms, according to the practice of Lindisfarne, where he had been educated.”*

The historian, it is true, refers more particularly to the northern inhabitants, who differed from the Cymry in several of their usages; yet as the one in question bears no foreign stamp, it is but fair to conclude that it was the ancient and common practice of all Britain. This view is further corroborated by the testimony of Constantius, who describes Garmon as having adopted a similar method in Wales previous to the “Alleluiaic Victory.”—

“The sacred days of Lent were at hand, which the presence of the divines rendered more solemn, insomuch that those instructed by their daily preaching flocked eagerly to the grace of baptism. For the great multitude of the army was desirous of the water of the laver of salvation. A church, formed of interwoven branches of trees, is prepared against the day of the resurrection of our Lord, and though the expedition was encamped in the field, is fitted up like that of a city.”†

It is remarkable that in both instances the time of consecration coincided with that of Lent, which is truly characteristic of a church in which eminently when “one member suffered, all the members suffered with it; or when one member was honoured, all the members rejoiced with it.”

The spot thus made sacred was termed “Llan,” which corresponds in sense with the Greek word *τεμενος*, and the church which was immediately afterwards erected bore the name of its holy founder.‡ Formal dedications to patron saints were yet unknown in Wales, though they were usually practised on the continent.§ Even among the Scots, the primitive mode was

* Eccl. Hist. iii. 23.

† Constant. lib. i. cap. 28.

‡ This has been the belief current in the principality since the eleventh century, as may be shewn from authentic documents. In confirmation of the same theory, it may be further proved that churches of the class alluded to are necessarily, from the nature of their endowments, the most ancient in Wales. (See *Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints*, sect. 1.)

§ In Italy and the Eastern Empire, instances occur of churches formally named after saints as early as the time of Constantine; and Bede mentions two churches so dedicated even in Britain, in the beginning of the fifth century, but he clearly refers the practice, in both cases, to adherents of Rome. (See Lib. i. cap. 26, lib. iii. cap. 4.)

observed more or less until the time of Archbishop Theodore, as the following passage from Bede would clearly imply :

“Aidan, the bishop, having departed this life, Finan, who had been ordained and sent by the Scots to succeed him in his bishopric, built, in the island of Lindisfarne, a church fit for an episcopal see, which, however, after the manner of the Scots, he did not erect of stone, but of sawn timber, covering it with reeds. At a later time, it was dedicated by the most reverend Archbishop Theodore in honour of the blessed apostle Peter.”*

The circumstances under which the primitive saints of Cymru were enabled to establish places of worship, have been sufficiently developed in the preceding chapters. Being either men of property themselves, or connected with Christian chiefs of power, they could easily “find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob.”† And although by the end of the seventh century, the country was very generally covered with sacred edifices, yet in course of time villages arose in several districts, which demanded distinct ministrations. The Cymry were now beginning to conform to the religious observances of their neighbours, and so their new churches were dedicated accordingly, though at first with considerable limitations, as Michael the Archangel and a few native saints appear to have been their only patrons.‡ This new era is supposed to have commenced about A.D. 717, when the consecration of Llanvihangel is particularly noticed in the Bruts, as before

* Lib. iii. cap. 25.

† Ps. cxxxii. 5.

‡ It is evident that churches dedicated to St. Michael are of a date posterior to those of the former description, from the fact that fourteen of them are subordinate to foundations ascribed to Welsh saints, whilst only one dedicated to a native is subject to a church which bears the name of the archangel. Moreover, the most extensive parishes of St. Michael do not possess the characteristics of endowments which distinguish the older establishments. The same may be said of the churches or chapels which are alluded to above, as having been now erected in honour of natives of Wales; whilst their comparative antiquity may be judged from the circumstance that the great majority of them are parochial, and few of them are subject to churches dedicated to the apostles and other saints whose homage was introduced at a later period.

observed.* There are upwards of ninety churches and chapels in Wales dedicated to St. Michael, and these are regularly dispersed,—a circumstance which may argue both their nationality and antiquity, or that they were founded by natives prior to the permanent occupation of parts of the country by foreigners.†

There is a strong inducement held out in the laws of Hywel Dda for building churches in certain localities :

“ If a church be erected in a villain town,‡ with the permission of the king, and it should have a burial-ground, and a priest to perform divine service, that town shall henceforward be free.”§

English influence gradually forced upon the principality other tutelar saints, such as the apostles and Blessed Virgin. There are not many places of worship, however, dedicated to the former ; and even of them it can be shown that nearly one-half were originally founded by Welsh saints.|| The work of dedication in these cases must be attributed solely to alien ecclesiastics, who probably doubted the validity or sufficiency of the primitive consecration. For granting that at this period the Cymry were impressed with the absolute necessity of formal dedications, it is very improbable that they would refuse the honour to holy men, with whose names the venerable fabrics had been for centuries associated. Indeed, their disposition on this head had been already sufficiently indicated by their dedication of subordinate chapels to the memory of the original founder of the mother church.¶

The earliest instance on record of a dedication to St. Mary in Wales, is that of a church which was founded near the cathedral of Bangor, A.D. 973, by Edgar, king of England.** About one hundred and forty were afterwards raised to her honour

* Pp. 153, 154.

† Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 40.

‡ “ Wallice *Taiawctrev* et *Tir Taiogen*. Oppidum seu villa ejus incolæ omnes sunt villani.”—*Wotton*.

§ Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. cap. 8, lib. iv. sect. 87.

|| Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 69.

¶ Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 70.

** Wynne's History of Wales ; Beauties of North Wales, p. 443.

before the Reformation, the main period of whose establishment was the twelfth century. It is remarkable, however, as indicative of the party to which they originally belonged, that the great majority is to be found in those parts of the principality which first became subject to the English and Flemings.* No doubt the Cistercian monks were the chief instruments, under the protection of the conquerors, in extending the name and dignity of the Holy Virgin in Cymru.† If any churches were dedicated to her by the natives, they must have been necessarily few, and probably of a date posterior to A.D. 1200, which was the period when she began to receive distinguished attention, as may be learned from the works of the bards in the Myvyrian Archaeology.”‡ The Cymry admitted none of the inferior saints of the Greek or Latin calendar as patrons of churches before the extinction of their metropolitical dignity.

We have already expressed an opinion that the first edifices which superseded the Druidical enclosures were circular.§ There seems to have been anciently no universal rule about the form of churches; nor indeed could that be the case, whilst Jewish synagogues, heathen temples, and public halls, were used as such.|| They appear, however, to have been generally oblong, in the figure of a ship,¶ but there were some round,** some octagon,†† and some in the form of a cross.‡‡ It is, therefore, very probable that the British Christians took their old corau as patterns in the erection of their churches, particularly as they had hitherto celebrated within them the mysteries of the Gospel.§§

* Rees's Essay, &c. p. 32.

† The Cistercian order was the most prevalent in Wales, and it was a rule of the fraternity that their religious houses should be dedicated to the holy Virgin.—*Tanner's Notitia Monastica*; *Rees's Essay*, §c. p. 69.

‡ Vol. i. pp. 315, 324.

§ Page 173.

|| Bingham's Antiquities, b. viii. ch. 3.

¶ Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. 57.

** Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 38; Strabo de Rebus Eccles. c. 4.

†† Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 5; Naz. Orat. 19 de Laud. Patr. p. 313.

‡‡ Evagr. lib. i. c. 14; Somnium Anastasiæ apud Greg. Naz. Carm. 9, tom. ii. p. 79; Cedren. Vit. Justin. in Compend. Hist. p. 390.

§§ Page 172.

But though the Druidical temples were essentially circular, they were moreover, in some instances, by the addition of proportionate right lines from four equidistant points of the circumference, rendered cruciform.* This emblem of Christianity, "the sign of the Son of Man," would readily suggest the propriety of continuing the same appropriate form to the houses which should be afterwards erected to his honour.

The very circumstance which prevented uniformity in the figures of churches, would likewise present a variety in their positions. The most ordinary situation indeed, in the case of oblong edifices, was east and west. Nevertheless, we learn from Joceline† that St. Patrick built a church in Ireland, which stood even from north to south, "*ab aquilonali parte versus meridianam plagam.*" And it is remarkable that a cruciform temple of the Druids at Classerniss, in the island of Lewis, Scotland, lies exactly in the same direction.

Seeing that masonry flourished to an uncommon extent in Bardic times,‡ it would be naturally expected that the early churches of Britain were built of stone. Such an inference, however, is opposed by all the positive evidence we have on the subject. Bede expressly declares that, about the year 565, the practice of constructing churches of stone was unusual among the Britons.§ The church which Garmon raised, before his victory over the Picts and Saxons, was of interwoven branches of trees (*frondibus contexta*). According to some, the walls of the ancient church of Glastonbury were in like manner winded and

* A specimen of the cruciform temple may be seen at Classerniss, in the island of Lewis, Scotland. It has a circle of twelve stones; and three each on the east, west, and south sides placed in right lines; while on the north is a double row of twice nineteen stones in two perpendicular parallel lines, forming a superb avenue, with a single elevated stone at the entrance. Another of a different description is found at New Grange, in Ireland. (Borl. Ant. Corn. p. 193; Oliver's History of Initiation, p. 153.)

† Usher's Letters, Ep. 49.

‡ A Triad says that the Cymry were taught to work with stone and mortar about the time when Alexander was subduing the world. (Tr. 91. See Introduction, p. 36.)

§ Bede Hist. lib. iii. cap. 4.

twisted together.* Bishop Finan, we are told in Bede, built in the island of Lindisfarne an episcopal church after the manner of the Scots, not of stone, but of sawn timber, covering it with reeds.† And it is observable that the Welsh word *adail* or *adeilad*, which now popularly denotes any sort of building, has in its etymology a primary, if not an exclusive reference to the wattling style. It were difficult to ascertain whether, in the adoption of this custom, the Britons had any religious principle particularly in view, as, for instance, “The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary;”‡ or whether it was merely the result of temporal circumstances.

Bede, in one or two places,§ connects stone churches and formal dedications together, which may lead us to presume that their introduction into the principality was simultaneous. We may form some idea of the general character of those edifices from that of Peranzabuloe in Cornwall, which was lately discovered after having been imbedded in the sand from nearly the period of the Norman invasion. This is considered to be one of the earliest specimens of stone building that superseded the wattled walls of the British churches. Its historian|| describes the masonry of the walls as being remarkably rude, but solid and compact. The door-way is neatly ornamented with the Egyptian zig-zag, or arrow, having on the keystone of its round-headed arch a tiger’s head sculptured, and two human heads on the corbels of the arch. There appears to have been only one small window to let in the light of day, unless, which is not improbable, the building was roofless. The church originally contained a very curious stone font; and at the eastern end, in a plain unornamented chancel, stood a very neat but stone altar.¶

* Malmesb. Eulog. lib. ii. Io. de Tinmouth. Append. Chronici Glastoniensis, MS. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ; Usher’s Britann. Eccles. Antiq. cap. ii.

† Lib. iii. cap. 25.

‡ Isaiah lx. 13.

§ Lib. iii. cap. 4; lib. v. c. 21.

|| The Rev. C. Trelawny Collins, M.A.

¶ Gwynvardd Brycheiniog, A.D. 1160-1230, speaks of—

“Five altars of Brevi, giving privilege to saints.”

In the nave were also stone seats, of the like simple construction, attached to the western, northern, and southern walls. Of course this simplicity was not stationary; on the other hand, subsequent years invested the house of God and His service with all the grandeur and pomp possible.

Merddin speaks of a bell as an ecclesiastical appendage.* St. Illtyd's bell was much venerated in the middle ages; and though supposed to have been ultimately lost, was lately discovered in the town-hall at Lantwit, with the inscription, "SANCTE ILTUTE, ORA PRO NOBIS," in characters apparently of the age in which that holy man lived.† The word "eloch" would seem to imply that a hard slate or flat stone was originally made use of by the Cynry to answer the purpose of a bell.‡

Parts of the Llan were the Corflan and Mynwent. The latter was the court next to the church, the former was a more outward yard, encompassing the other on every side, in which they buried the dead. The extent of the corflan, as fixed by law, embraced an acre of ground in length, that is, one hundred and sixty square perches of twenty feet each.§

The sacred inclosures in which the ancient churches of Britain stood, were inalienably and for ever appropriated for the religious service of God. In certain districts, pious individuals added portions of their estates by way of freewill offering,

* "The bell of the monks at Llandydoch."

† "I predict, concerning Llandydoch,

That there will be neither bell nor beam."

Myr. Arch. vol. i. p. 134.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem presented St. Teilo with a small bell, which is supposed by some to have been at the church of Glasewin in Elvein in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, and to have been called *Bangu*. Gildas also is said to have sent to St. Brigid, as a token of his regard, a small bell cast by himself. (*Liber Landavensis*; *Life of St. Teilo*; *Girald. Camb. Itin. Camb.* lib. i. c. 1; *Moore's Ireland*, p. 257.)

‡ That is, they are similar to the letters of Samson's Monument in Llanilltyd Vawr. (See page 172; *Hughe's Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. p. 356.)

† Dr. Pughe's *Dict.* sub voce.

§ Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. cap. 8; lib. ii. c. 12 et c. 19; Dr. Pughe's *Dict.* voce *Erv*.

and sometimes even satisfactions for outrages committed against the Church and clergy augmented the endowment.*

We subjoin specimens of early charters taken out of "the Book of St. Chad,"† which is supposed to have been written before the year 720.

"Tydwleth the son of Lliwydd arose, and Jannarius the hermit, to demand the land of Teilo, which was in the hand of Eleu the son of Gellhig, and his family, and to redeem it, together with provisions for the consumption of Januarius the

* "Delicta in anulâ vel in Ecclesiâ commissa, dupliciter multentor.

"Qui in ecclesiâ principali deliquerit, xiv libras solvito, quarum dimidia pars dabitur abbati, si ordinibus sacris initiatus et literis instructus fuerit; et altera medietas inter sacerdotes et cæteros cœnobitas dividetur.

"Siquis in cœmeterio deliquerit, vii libras solvat, eodem modo dividendas.

"Quicumque in capellâ deliquerit, septem libras solvito, quarum dimidium capellanis, et reliquum sacerdotibus."—*Wotton's Leges Wallicæ*, lib. i. c. 47; lib. iv. sect. 267.

Instances are recorded in "*Liber Landavensis*," of lands having been permanently made over to the Church, as compensations for certain offences.

† "Tradition has reported" this very ancient document "to be in the handwriting of St. Gildas. The volume is of a quarto form, and exclusive of its present covers, which are strong and thick, is 12 inches long, $9\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ thick; including the covers, it is $12\frac{3}{4}$ long, 10 wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick. It consists at present, of 118 leaves, or 236 pages, commences with the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel, and ends with Luke iii. 9,—no part of St. John's Gospel remaining. It is written on thick, strong vellum, and the leaves are more or less discoloured by damp and great age; the writing, however, is quite legible, the colour of the ink well retained, and the chief part of the MS. considering its great antiquity, and the vicissitudes it has undergone, is in good preservation. The Saxon words and names occurring in the margins, plainly show that the book has been in much use for administering oaths under the government of that people. There is a memorandum entered therein, stating that there was a letter written by the Rev. William Higgins, precentor of Llandaff, dated Feb. 9th, 1657-8, and addressed to the celebrated Dugdale, mentioning that through his care some valuable MSS. belonging to the cathedral, and particularly this volume, were preserved during the civil war."—*Liber Landavensis*, p. 615, note.

It is stated on the margin of page 141 of the MS., that Gelhi the son of Arihtiud bought it of Cingal, to whom he gave in return a very good horse; and that the said Gelhi afterwards gave it for his soul to God and St. Teilo, upon the altar. It was taken from Llandaf, probably by some Englishmen in time of war, and given to Lichfield, where it was called by the name of the patron of that church. The extracts which we have inserted above are written on the margins.

hermit, and his men, to be raised by a tithesman; and there were given to Elen, one bull, a horse, three oxen, and three milch cows, being, including a mare, nine beasts for his possession. May he be saved henceforth to the day of strict judgment, who will not claim it for Tydwlech and his family for ever.

* * * * *

“✠ Teilo, witness; Turgint, witness; Cinhilin, witness; Sps, witness; and all the family of Teilo; of the laity, Numin son of Aidan, witness; Signou son of Iacon, witness; Berthutis, witness; Cinda, witness. Whoever will keep it, shall be blessed; whoever will break it, shall be cursed.”

“This writing sheweth that Rhys, and the family of Grethi, gave to God and St. Teilo, Treuwyddog, which is on the road to the confluence of Cinchi; and its rent payment is forty loaves, and a wether sheep in the summer; and in the winter, forty loaves, a hog, and forty dishes of butter. God is witness; Sadwrnwydd, witness; Nywys, witness; Gwrgi, witness; Cwdhwlf, witness; of the laity, Cynwern, witness; Collwyn, witness; Cyhorged, witness; Erbin, witness; Hwrodd, witness. Whoever will keep it, shall be blessed; and whoever will break it, shall be cursed by God.”

“This writing showeth that Rhys and Hirv * * Breehva as far as Hirvaen Gwyddog, from the desert of Gelli Irlath as far as Camddwr. Its rent payment is sixty loaves, and a wether sheep, and a quantity of butter. Almighty God is witness; Sadwrnwydd the priest, witness; Nywys, witness; Gwrgi, witness; Cwdhwlf, witness; of the laity, Cynwern, witness; Collwyn, witness; Cyhorged, witness; Erbin, witness. Whoever will keep it, shall be blessed; whoever will break it, shall be cursed.”*

The following, from *Liber Landavensis*, describes a restitution made for the violation of a sanctuary:

“Meredydd, son of Rhun, king of the region of Dyved, being excited by excessive rage and cruelty, killed Guvrir, one of the

* *Liber Landavensis*, Appendix. The original of these documents is a curious mixture of Welsh and Latin.

men of St. Teilo, in the refuge which belonged to God and to him, whilst he was before his altar; due penance being required of him, and pardon granted on account of proposed amendment in fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, with promised reformation in every respect, he gave to God and St. Teilo, and the church of Llandaf, and all its pastors for ever, the manor of Brunus, with its church, and fish, and woods, and likewise Telichelouman, and Treveannus; which lands were to be free of all regal service, and with all their dignity, and the privilege of St. Teilo, granted in all things, and complete commonage for the inhabitants in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, for ever, a curse being pronounced on the violators, and a blessing on the preservers.”*

We see from the above, and there are numerous other cases recorded in *Liber Landavensis*, that even the patronage of churches was, under similar circumstances, transferred from lay hands into those of ecclesiastics. The repetition of such grants rendered particular establishments in course of time very wealthy and honorable. For instance, the pre-eminent privilege which Llandaf eventually acquired is thus noticed in the register of that see:

“The privilege of St. Teilo, and his church of Llandaf, is granted to him and all his successors for ever by these kings and princes,† and confirmed by apostolical authority, with all its laws complete to itself, and its territories free from all regal service, without a governor or deputy governor, without attendance at public courts, in or out of its jurisdiction, without going on military expeditions, without keeping watch over the country; with its own laws altogether respecting thieves, and robberies, rapine, murders, incendiarism, brawling, shedding of blood, violation of refuge every where in the territories of the holy man, assaults in the ways and out of the ways, in giving judgment, and suffering it, with regard to all the people of St. Teilo, in the court of Llandaf, respecting commonage of water and herbage, field and wood for the people of the church of St. Teilo; with a market and a mint at Llandaf, with the approach

* Lib. Land. p. 364.

† Named elsewhere in the book.

of ships every where throughout the territories of St. Teilo, free from kings, and all persons, except the church of Llandaf and its bishop; and respecting every reproach and injury which the king of Glamorgan and his men shall do to the bishop of St. Teilo and his men, the said king of Glamorgan and his men shall render justice to the bishop and his men, and receive judgment in the court of Llandaf. Every law which may be in the regal court, shall be likewise fully recognized in the episcopal court at Llandaf.

For the privilege of that church ordained by apostolical authority is, that it shall, with its dignity, remain to posterity free and quit from all burden of secular service. Whatsoever, by the concession of pontiffs, the liberality of princes, or the offering of the faithful, or by other just means may belong to it, shall be preserved to it firm and intire for ever. Whatsoever it may in future by divine bounty justly and canonically obtain, shall always remain to it quiet and undisturbed. For it is decreed that it shall not be lawful for any man whatsoever rashly to disturb the aforesaid church, or take away its possessions, or retain such as have been taken away from it, or weary it with vexatious proceedings, and that all things, together with the boundaries of the diocese, be preserved to it. If any secular or ecclesiastical person shall therefore, in future, rashly attempt to act against it, and being two or three times admonished will not amend, with rendering due satisfaction, let him be deprived of the dignity of his station, and know that by divine judgment he is guilty of the perpetrated crime, and not partake of the most holy body and blood of God, and the Lord, our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and undergo severe punishment in the last judgment. But to all who shall preserve them to the said church, may the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ effect, so that here they may enjoy the fruit of their good conduct, and from the righteous Judge receive the reward of eternal peace.”*

The benefactions of Cunedda Wledig and Cadwaladr Vendi-

* Liber Landavensis, pp. 355, 356. The above is translated from the Latin; another in Welsh of a similar substance is immediately added in the said register.

gaid were not bestowed upon individual churches, but were of a more comprehensive character. Furthermore, we learn from the laws of Hywel Dda, that there were certain privileges and immunities attached in common to almost every church in the land. Such were—the right of sanctuary, the inalienable security of property, independent tribunals, and the exemption of the clergy from certain offices of state.*

Tithes, however, appear to have constituted the most general endowment with which the cause of Christ was invested in Cymru. And if the plough rate† which the Druids received in their several districts merely involved the tenth of the produce of the land, then we may assign the origin of Christian tithes to the era of Lles ab Coel. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the principle was then fully sanctioned. It is affirmed by Giraldus Cambrensis that Garmon and Bleiddian taught the Britons “to pay their tithes partly to the bishop, and partly to their baptismal church.”‡ Allusion is made in a former extract to the office of “tithesman,” as existing in the days of Teilo;§ and Taliesin speaks of the paying of tithes as a duty :

“Due tithes and offerings will they not pay.”||

The duty being once admitted, would soon break out, in

* See Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*; and the *Laws of Wales* in *Myv. Arch.* vol. iii.

† Pages 15, 70, and 170.

‡ Comber, 183; Soames's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 85. § Page 190.

|| *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 26. That the Italian missionaries found the tenth esteemed God's portion among the British Christians, may be inferred from the following tale related of Augustine. When preaching in Oxfordshire, a village priest addressed him thus: “Father, the lord of this place refuses to pay tythes, and my threats of excommunication only increase his obstinacy.” Augustine then tried *his* powers of persuasion, but the lord replied, “Did not I plough and sow the land? The tenth part belongs to him who owns the remaining nine.” It was now time for mass; and Augustine, turning to the altar, said: “I command every excommunicated person to leave the church.” Immediately a pallid corpse arose from beneath the doorway, stalked across the churchyard, and stood motionless beyond its boundary. The congregation, gazing in horror and affright, called Augustine's attention to the spectre. He did not choose, however, to break off the service. Having concluded, he said, “Be not alarmed. With cross and holy water in hand, we shall know the meaning of this.” He then went forward, and thus accosted the ghastly

those days of religious feelings, into actual operation wherever the Lord Jesus was worshipped. We may therefore fairly presume that its development followed the foundation of churches, and that it was established as a regular and universal system when the boundaries of parishes became properly defined.

In the laws of Hywel Dda, this ministerial portion is emphatically called "the tithe of Christ."* Tithes, offerings, mortuary, marriage fees, legacies, the spoils of the altar, open violence committed upon a clergyman, and an insult against a graduate of the church, are enumerated in the same laws as the things in respect of which the prerogatives of the ecclesiastical court exceeded those of the lay court.†

stranger: "I enjoin thee, in the name of God, tell me who thou art." The ghost replied: "In British times I was lord here; but no warnings of the priest could ever bring me to pay my tythes. At length he excommunicated me, and my disembodied soul was thrust into hell. When the excommunicated were bidden to depart, your attendant angels drove me from my grave." Augustine's power was now exerted in raising the excommunicating priest from his narrow resting-place; and having thus a second spectre before him, he asked, "Know you this person?" The unearthly clergyman replied, "Full well, and to my cost." He was then reminded by Augustine of God's mercy, and of the departed lord's torture in hell; a scourge was put into his hand, the excommunicated party knelt before him, received absolution, and then quietly returned to the grave. His own return thither soon followed, although Augustine, desirous of his assistance in preaching the Gospel, would fain have prayed for a renewed term of life.—*Bromton X. Script.* 736. *Soames's Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 84, note.

* Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. iv. sect. 104.

† *Ib.* lib. ii. cap. 28.

CHAPTER XI.

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

“Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.”—
MATTHEW xxviii. 20.

IN the first chapter of this work, we noticed that the missionaries who introduced the Christian faith into Britain were Ild, Cyndav, Mawan, and Arwystli Hen, the three former being of Jewish extraction, and the last a Roman,—and that this took place when St. Paul was in the imperial city. Moreover, we made it probable that Arwystli was none other than the Aristobulus mentioned by the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans (chap. xvi. verse 10.) Be that as it may, it is expressly stated that Aristobulus was consecrated bishop for Britain by St. Paul himself, and that he established churches and ordained presbyters and deacons in the island. Here, therefore, we have a distinct recognition of one of the first links in the chain of British succession. There can be no doubt that the “men of Israel,” his companions, were in holy orders, though the source of their commission is not so clearly ascertained. Probably, as the foundations of the Roman Church were jointly laid by St. Peter and St. Paul,*—the one as the Apostle of the Gentiles,† taking care of the Gentile Christians, whilst the other, as “the Apostle of the Circumcision,” applied himself to the Jewish converts,† that they were ordained by St. Peter.

* Iren. adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 232. Epiph. Hæres. xxvii. p. 51, vid. Ham. Dissert. v. c. i. p. 256. Cai. adv. Procul. Dionys. Ep. ad Rom. apud Euseb. lib. ii. c. 25, p. 68.

† There seems to be some foundation for this hypothesis in the Acts of the

The high position and dignity to which Arwystli was raised as the spiritual instructor of Bran, would, simply considered, lead us to infer that his notions and feelings imparted their peculiar tinge to the ordinances of the infant Church. We must remember, on the other hand, that his fellow missionaries were more in number, and that Ilid is plainly described as “the chief teacher of the Cymry in the Christian faith.”* In accordance, therefore, with these circumstances, we find that Jewish prejudices prevailed over those of the “man of Italy.” This is evident from the fact, that swearing by the ten commandments was the form of oath which the Christians first adopted in this country.† The memory of Moses is also invested with peculiar prominence in the compositions of Taliesin: one poem is entitled “The Rod of Moses,”‡ whilst another bears the name of “the Plagues of Egypt,”§ “and a third is an “Eulogy on the men of Israel.”|| We have already seen that a Druidical temple, which is supposed to have been converted into a Christian church, received in consequence the appellation of “the tumulus of Moses.”¶ Now, a mere intimacy with the Asiatic or Gallic churches could not have implanted in the breasts of the Cymry predilections so purely judaical;—how else may they be accounted for, except as the genuine traditions of Ilid, Cyndav, and Mawan?

Apostles (xxviii. 23-31) where we read that St. Paul, at his first coming to Rome, being rejected by the Jews, turned to the Gentiles, declaring to them the salvation of God, who gladly received it; and that he continued thus preaching the Gospel for two years together. According to the Apostolic Constitutions, Linus was ordained bishop of Rome by St. Paul, and Clemens by St. Peter, which would lead us to believe in like manner that they were thus appointed to succeed the Apostles in the superintendence of their respective flocks. It is a matter of fact that in the Church of Jerusalem, till the destruction of the temple, none were admitted but Jewish converts.—See *Cure's Life of St. Clemens*.

* Page 57.

† “There are three sacred objects to swear by. (See p. 71).—Afterwards were introduced the ten commandments, the gospel of John, and the holy cross.”—*Myv. Arch.* vol. iii. p. 314.

‡ *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 41.

|| *Ibid.* 46.

§ *Ibid.* p. 40.

¶ Pages 71, 172.

But this disposition of mind, no doubt tended to the establishment of the intercourse which subsisted between the British and Oriental Churches. “Many godly men from Greece” are said to have visited Cymru as early as the reign of Cyllin,* the son of Caradog, when in all probability Aristobulus was yet living, since his death, according to Cressy, is dated as late as A.D. 99. At any rate, we cannot suppose that the four missionaries were all dead at the time, and that the Church was then founded anew. Mawan, especially, must have been young when he first came over. But even if they were all gone to their rest, or Ilid, Cyndav, Mawan, and the twelve saints of Eurgain, were mere presbyters or deacons, still we dare not think that Aristobulus would have so far disregarded the charge of St. Paul as not to provide for the transmission of the apostolical commission in the Church over which he presided.† To have been satisfied with the succession observed by the college of Bards would be tantamount to the rejection altogether of episcopal ordination, which is a distinct and essential doctrine of Christianity. Truly the succession of bishops was in possession of the British communion in the time of Irenæus, about A.D. 169, or he, who expressly appealed to it against the pretensions of heretics and in favour of the claims of Catholicism, would never have included the Christian Celts indiscriminately within the pale of true churches.‡

Though there is no necessity for believing that intimacy with the Oriental Christians effected any fundamental alteration in the ecclesiastical usages of Britain, yet it may have to a certain extent remoulded the character of some, and also introduced others altogether new. Irenæus evidently identifies the creed and traditions of the British Church with those of the East.—

* Page 63.

† See the epistles to Timothy and Titus. Could the bishop of Ephesus, who seems to have personally known some of the saints of Britain, have had any part in giving their Church a bias towards Asia? There are not wanting authorities which allege that Timothy was over in this country, and that he even baptized King Lucius. (See *Usher*, cap. iii.)

‡ Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

“Neither have the Churches which are established in the Germanies, the Iberias, or among the *Celts*, otherwise believed, or otherwise handed down.”* And notwithstanding the bias of his companions, the authority of Aristobulus was venerated for some time, if we may infer from the Triads which bear the name of the Apostle who sent him. Nevertheless, congeniality of feeling excited at first generally among the British Christians by the Jewish emissaries, would naturally recommend to them the Asiatic ordinances, and perhaps induce them to embody some in their own ritual. This will account for the fact that in aftertimes they referred their traditions to St. John, and swore by his gospel.† We certainly know that Britain and Asia did at one time agree, especially in regard to the time of keeping Easter. If our Church derived this custom from the East, it must have been anterior to the council of Nice,‡ and the reason why the Cymry continued to observe the same afterwards is easily explained on the supposition that they were not represented in that council.§ Whether the Greeks in the time of Cyllin introduced their orders into Britain, we are not prepared to assert: it seems as if the incorporation of the Church with the Bardic system, would hardly admit of such a proceeding.

But we are informed, that there were then “many godly men from Rome,” as well. Did their influence at all affect the customs of the native Church? Of this we have no practical evidence in the customs themselves, which, on the contrary, turned out at a subsequent period to be materially different from those of Rome.|| It may be, that the domination of the Romans in temporal matters operated unfavourably upon the Cymry in that point. We have seen how they kept themselves throughout, more or less, a distinct people, using their own laws; and may they not accordingly have exhibited a spirit of similar jealousy in regard to religion? That there was a sort

* Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 3.

† Beda, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 25; Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 314.

‡ It was decreed at this council that the paschal festival should be held throughout Christendom on one and the same day.

§ See page 84.

|| Bed. lib. ii. c. 2.

of rivalry between the two nations on this head is sufficiently apparent from the antagonist claims of Llandaf and Caerleon to be the principal seat of the Cambrian Church.

We have it on record, however, that Lleirwg communicated with the Bishop of Rome on the subject of the Church; but, we trust that we have clearly explained the nature of that communication both from the Triads and from the letter of Eleutherius himself.* The pope, in the very commencement of his epistle, seems to betray a consciousness of British antipathy to the imperial laws, and, therefore, as if to remove every pretext of jealousy on the part of the clergy of this island, which might exist in consequence of that circumstance, he repudiates all necessary connection between the Church and State of Rome.† Further, in commissioning persons of British descent, one known to be a relative of Lleirwg, to bring over his reply, and to aid the king in his projects, he proves how careful he was to cultivate a Catholic union between the Churches of Britain and Rome, without subjecting either to a compromise of liberty and independence. It is true that the native prelates are made to assert at the conference with Augustine, that they had received their ceremonies from Eleutherius;‡ from the foregoing considerations, however, we can conclude such to have been a mistake, arising naturally from a vague or confused idea of the change which took place in the external aspect of the Silurian Church consequent upon the application of Lleirwg.

Nevertheless, we cannot doubt that the principal stream of ordination was now derived immediately from Rome, for both Dyvan and Fagan were successively appointed bishops of Llandaf. We can furnish the names of all the prelates who henceforward filled this see. Adelfius, who subscribed to the decrees of Arles, A.D. 314, we have elsewhere attempted to identify with

* Chap. ii.

† “Leges Romanas et Cæsaris semper reprobare possumus.”

‡ “Auctorizabant suas ceremonias non solum a sancto Eleutherio Papâ, primo institutore suo, ab ipsâ pene infantiâ Ecclesiæ dicatas, verum a sanctis patribus suis, Dei amicis, et apostolorum sequacibus, hactenus observatas; quas non deberent mutare propter novos dogmatistas.”—*Gotcelinus in Histor. Major.* cap. 32.

Edelfed, the fourth bishop of Llandaf, and with Cadvrawd the son of Cadvan, great-grandson of Caradog.* And here we may mention the testimony which the council alluded to affords to the existence and validity of the Apostolical succession at this time in Britain. It consists in the fact that bishops from this country were summoned to attend, and permitted to vote in an assembly, which has always been regarded as most legitimate in its constitution.

In the fifth century, a succession from their favorite Apostle St. John, was introduced among the Christians of Cymry, by Garmon and Bleiddian."† They consecrated Dyvrig,‡ who afterwards exercised the authority of a metropolitan, and consequently was enabled to confer the same ordination upon other bishops and clergy within his province. And as he held Llandaf and Caerleon together for some time, there was wanting the usual rivalry of the two sees to mar the uniform transmission of this eastern succession. His immediate successors in both sees traced their spiritual descent from the fountain head of Christendom, having been admitted into episcopal orders by the Patriarch of Jerusalem.§ The same can be said of Padarn, bishop of Llanbadarn Vawr, so that, if he afterwards assisted in the imposition of hands, the Cambrian chain would be proportionably less complicated.

It does not appear that anything materially affected the succession as now established until the time when the rival sees of Wales submitted respectively to the jurisdiction of Canterbury.

We subjoin a list of the prelates who successively filled the oldest see in Great Britain, from the time of Lleirwg until the

* Pages 78, 82.

† Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, who was the disciple of St. John, was bishop of Lyons, the oldest church in Gaul, and the source whence were derived the ministry and ecclesiastical rites of that country.

‡ Genealogy of the Saints; Liber Landavensis, p. 621.

§ Page 133. Does Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (1160-1230) allude to this event when he says:

“Before the relics of Dewi Greece shall tremble.”

final union of the Anglo-Saxon and Cambrian Churches in the twelfth century.

1. Dyvan.—A.D. 173-180.
2. Fagan.
3. Elldeyrn.
4. Edelfed (*Adelfius*, present at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314.)
5. Cadwr.
6. Cynan.
7. Ilan.
8. Llewyr.
9. Cyhelyn.
10. Gwythelyn.
11. Festydd.* (Probably *Fastidius*, "*Britannorum Episcopus*," A.D. 420, or 430 ; or, *Faustus*, "*Rei-ensis Episcopus*," A.D. 463. Query, the son of Gwrtheyrn, who "*condidit locum magnum super ripam fluminis, quod vocatur Renis.*")
12. Dyvrig. Consecrated by Garmon and Bleiddian.
13. Teilo.
14. Oudoceus.
15. Berthgwyn.
16. Trychan.
17. Edilvyw.
18. Grecielis.
19. Aidan. Slain by the "infidel Saxons," A.D. 720.
20. Elwog.
21. Cerenhir.

* The list of the bishops prior to Dyvrig is from a MS. of the late Iolo Morganwg. Another book gives Medwy as the third. It may be well to observe that Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 10, and 11, may be recognised among the Archbishops of London in Godwin's list, under the names of Obinus (or Dovinus in another list) Cador, Conan, Hillary, Guitelnus, and Fastidius. Another list, in Iolo Morganwg's hand-writing, gives thirteen bishops of Llandaf prior to Dyvrig, ten of whom are in Godwin's catalogue of the bishops of London. Underneath this list is written, See "Nicholl's Paper."—*Liber Landavensis, Chronological Series*, &c. p. 623.

22. Nudd.
 23. Cadwared.
 24. Nobis, or Nywys.
 25. Cyveiliawg. Consecrated A.D. 872.
 26. Libiau.
 27. Gulfrid.
 28. Marchlwys, or Marchluid. In the time of Hywel Dda.
 29. Pater, or Padarn. A.D. 943.
 30. Rhodri ab Morgan. Poisoned.
 31. Gwgan. Died A.D. 982.
 32. Bledri. Became bishop in 983.
 33. Joseph. Consecrated, Oct. 1st. 1022.
 34. Herwald, or Herwallt. Consecrated in 1056, died 1104.
 35. Urban. Consecrated A.D. 1108.
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CHAPTER XII.

DIOCESES AND PARISHES.

“For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.”—TITUS i. 5.

THE ancient archbishoprics of Britain are thus noticed in the Welsh Triads:—

“The three archbishoprics of the Isle of Britain :

“The first, Llandaf, endowed by Lleirwg, son of Coel, son of Cyllin, who first granted land and constitutional privileges to the first Christians.

“The second, Caerevrawg (York) endowed by the emperor Cystennyn (Constantine), who was the first of the Roman emperors that received the faith in Christ.

“The third, London, endowed by Macten Wledig (Maximus).

“After that, they were Caerleon-upon-Usk, Gelliwig in Cornwall, and Caer Rianedd in the North ; and now they are Mynyw, Caerevrawg, and Caer Gaint (Canterbury).”*

It does not appear that there were any primates at first in the British Church. Silurian Bardism presented nothing analogous to the office, though we read of an Arch-druid in Gaul, whose authority was absolute.† The metropolitical dignity would naturally have been conferred upon Arwystli Hen, had it really existed in his time, whereas we find, on the contrary, that it was the opinions and feelings of his fellow-labourers,

* Triad 62.

† “His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem.”—*De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. c. 13.

rather than his own power, which gave a tone to the ordinances of Cymru. Its first adoption, then, is dated in the reign of Lleurwg; and though the Triad may refer particularly to the regular and settled formation of the royal patrimony into a diocese, yet the fact of Fagan succeeding his late companion at Llandaf would imply a certain pre-eminence in connexion with that see at the time in question.

The extent of the diocese, and the nature of its endowment, have already been described.* Nor does it appear that the archiepiscopal powers of Llandaf were exercised beyond its proper boundaries, even when it was a solitary province. Indeed, in the days of its greatest prosperity, its claims were confined to South Wales: "As the Church of Rome has dignity above all the Churches of the Catholic faith, so the Church of Llandaf exceeds all the Churches of Southern Britain,† in dignity, and in privilege, and in excellency."‡

Caerleon laid claim to the primacy of the Cambrian Church, in virtue of its being the metropolis of the Roman province of Britannia secunda. Hence sprung up a spirit of jealousy between the two sees, which varied more or less according to the political feelings of both nations and their adherents. On the departure of the Romans, however, when the native sovereigns selected Caerleon as their principal place of residence, its archiepiscopal pretensions were no longer opposed, but naturally acknowledged by all the clergy of Cymru, with the exception, as may be imagined, of those of the particular diocese of Llandaf. And yet some of the prelates who filled this see must have regarded Caerleon as of superior dignity, inasmuch as they suffered themselves to be translated thither from the former.§ Dyvrig, bishop of Llandaf, when he was promoted to Caerleon, held both sees together for twenty-two years, and as he mostly

* Chap. ii.

† "Dextralis Britannia;" Wallicæ "Deheu-dir," or "Deheu-barth." (See *Usher's Britan. Eccles. Antig.* p. 63.)

‡ *Liber Landavensis*, p. 373.

§ This will explain the reason why the Britons at their conference with Augustine agreed to designate their primate by the title of "Archbishop of Caerleon."

resided at the former place, he was during the time styled archbishop of Llandaf. Dewi, who succeeded him at Caerleon, removed the see by permission of the monarch to Mynyw, where he had before exercised the office of a *chorepiscopus*. As his mother was the daughter of Gynyr Caergaweh, who had bestowed upon the Church the Menevian territory, his partiality for that spot is accounted for.* Upon his death, Teilo, the bishop of Llandaf, was appointed in his stead, but he chose to make his nephew his suffragan at Mynyw, and to reside himself in the former city, where he "held supremacy over all the churches of the whole of Southern Britain, according to the appointment of the fathers who consecrated him at Jerusalem."†

The diocese of Menevia, in Dewi's time, as may be judged from the churches attributed to him, embraced the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen. Its northern boundary in Cardiganshire included the parishes of Llanddewi Aberarth, and Llanddewi Brevi; from whence it seems to have followed the Irvon through Brecknockshire, and in Radnorshire it included the parishes of Cregruna and Glasewm. From there it passed southwards to the Wye, and followed that river to its junction with the Severn, including the districts of Ewyas and Erchenfield in Herefordshire, and the entire county of Monmouth, with the exception of the lordship of Gwynllwg. Its southern boundary commenced between the rivers Neath and Tawe, and then passed along the hills which divide Brecknockshire from Glamorganshire, as far as Blaenau Gwent: from this point, it followed the present limits of Gwynllwg to the mouth of the Usk.‡

The diocese of Llandaf, or as it was now often called "Plwyv Teilo" (the parish of Teilo),§ embraced all the territory south of this line as far as the channel. Teilo, however, in his capacity of primate, had founded churches throughout the whole of the Menevian diocese, even within a few miles of St. David's.

* Page 134.

† Liber Landavensis, p. 351.

‡ Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 198.

§ The name for an Episcopal diocese during the three first centuries was commonly *παρoικια*. (See *Bingham*, B. ix. ch. ii. § 1.)

This circumstance furnished Rhydderch ab Iestin, A.D. 1022-1031, with a pretext for attempting to restore his ancient jurisdiction to Llandaf, and he accordingly withdrew from the patronage of the Bishop of Mynyw all such churches in the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, Brecon, and Radnor, as bore the name of Teilo, together with several manors, land, and villages. Subsequent events, however, prove that his successors in power did not confirm the transfer, because, we may be sure, they looked upon him as an usurper.*

North of the diocese of St. David's was that of Llanbadarn, which was founded by Padarn. Its extent northwards is uncertain, but is supposed to have included a considerable part of Montgomeryshire. Very little is known of this bishopric, and the last notice we have of it in the Bruts is under the year 720, when it is recorded that many of its churches were ravaged by the Saxons. It was ultimately annexed to Menevia.†

The churches founded by Deiniol are few in number, and not disposed in such a way as to afford a criterion for ascertaining the extent of the diocese of Bangor.‡ Little, indeed, is known of its early history, but there is reason to believe that it increased in dignity under the protection and countenance of the princes of North Wales, for we find one of its prelates in the eighth century even assuming the rank and title of "Archbishop of Gwynedd," and, as such, undertaking to alter the ordinances of the Church.§ Nor must this be attributed to any inefficiency, feebleness, or concession on the part of the Southwallian primacy, for the bishops of Llandaf and St. David's resolutely

* Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 198, 243, 246. It is not improbable that the bishops of Llandaf had, upon some occasion, obtained a transient ascendancy before the time of Rhydderch. Thus it is recorded that Maredudd, king of Dyved, about the end of the eighth century, gave six churches to Llandaf. Urban claimed to his diocese, on the score of former occupation, so much of Carmarthenshire as lay to the south of the river Towy, together with the southern part of Brecknockshire, and that portion of the country of Hereford which lay on the western side of the Wye. It does not appear, however, that his claims were admitted.—*Ibid.* pp. 249, 250.

† Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 198, 216.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 259.

§ Brut y Tywysogion.

withstood the usurpation of Elvod, on the ground that they themselves were respectively archbishops of older privilege.* It is true his regulations were shortly afterwards received generally throughout Cymru, yet, notwithstanding, none of his successors appears to have laid claim to his metropolitical honours.

The only other diocese in North Wales was that of Llanelwy, which was founded by Cyndeyrn.† This did not enjoy the civil advantages of the preceding bishopric, but, on the contrary, was exposed to frequent incursions and devastations from its contiguity to England.

The limits of the different dioceses of Wales were originally defined by circumstances of a civil or temporal character. The archiepiscopal jurisdiction was co-extensive with the Roman province of Britannia Secunda, though the particular diocese of Caerleon or Mynyw was determined by the influence which its principal bishops, as Dyvrig, Dewi, and Teilo, had in the land by inheritance, relationship, or sanctity. Llandaf generally coincided with the dominions of the kings of Glamorgan, and the jurisdictions of Bangor and St. Asaph depended upon the local power of the princes of Gwynedd and Powys, and their connection with the founders or their immediate successors.

But besides the prelates who presided over dioceses, there were others who had no such territorial jurisdictions, but acted in the capacity of chorepiscopi, or country suffragans. The following list of those who, according to *Liber Landavensis*,‡ lived in the time of Teilo, and were stationed in divers parts of his diocese, shews that this class of bishops was comparatively numerous.

Aidan, a disciple of Dyvrig at Henllan, bishop in Ergyng, in the reign of king Cynvyn, son of Pebiau.

Elwystyl, one of the clergy under Dyvrig, and bishop in the times of Cynvyn and Gwyddai, sons of Pebiau, kings of Ergyng. He appears to have been stationed in Ergyng, the same district as Aidan.

* Brut y Tywysogion.

† Page 137.

‡ See Chronological Series, &c. p. 624.

Lunapeius, probably the same person as Junabui, founder of Llandinabo, in the time of his cousin Dyvrig, and King Pebiau. He is supposed to have been raised to the episcopacy by Teilo, in the reign of Gwrgan, son of Cynvyn, king of Ergyng, and to have been stationed in the said district.

Arwystyl, one of the disciples of Dyvrig at Henllan. He was bishop in the latter part of the reign of Iddon, king of Gwent, who bestowed upon him Llangoed, in Brecknockshire, in which district he was probably stationed.

Uvelwy, a disciple of Dyvrig; he appears to have been a bishop in Ergyng during the reign of Gwrvodw, king of that district; Meurig, king of Glamorgan, is recorded to have given him the church of Llansillow, in Herefordshire.

Comereg, bishop in Ergyng in the time of Arthrwys, son of Meurig, king of Gwent, who granted him St. Kinemark's, near Chepstow, with its territory, comprising a large portion of Ergyng.

Gwrwan, bishop in the reign of Tewdwr, son of Rhun, king of Dyved, who treacherously killed Elgystyl, son of Awst, king of Brecknock, for which he was excommunicated by Gwrwan. His station was probably Ystradyw.

Gwyddlon or Guodloiu, said to be son of Glywys Cerniw, founder of Coed Cerniw church, near Newport, Monmouthshire, in which district perhaps he was bishop.

Of this description was probably the bishopric of Margam, which was established by Morgan, king of Glamorgan, in the time of Oudoceus.* The following seems to be a list of its prelates in succession: Morgan ab Adras, bishop and king, Ystyffan, Cattwg, Iago, Cawan, Tyvodwg, Cyvelach, Mabon.† Cyvelach was slain, A.D. 756, whereas the Welsh chronicles seem to include all the dioceses of South Wales, thirty-six

* Morgan had his palace at Margam. See a copy of an ancient MS. in Williams's *History of Monmouthshire*, Appendix, p. 66.

† The catalogue is taken from Iolo Morganwg's collection, and headed, "Bishops of Glamorgan, *alias* Cynffig." In Williams' History, however, the bishopric is said to have had only five successions, and then to have been united to Llandaf. (See *Liber Landavensis*, p. 625.)

years earlier, under the names of Llandaf, Mynyw, and Llanbadarn,* which confirms the supposition that Margam, or Glamorgan, had no local jurisdiction.

The seven bishops who attended the conference with Augustine, are not positively stated to have been diocesans: some of them were probably chorepiscopi. If otherwise, two at least of the neighbouring bishops in the ancient provinces of Flavia Caesariensis and Britannia Prima must have submitted to the authority of Caerleon, which is not difficult to credit, considering the troubles of the times.† We are informed in the Welsh Genealogies, that a British bishop resided at Gloucester at the period in question,‡ and we find, moreover, from another document, that there was a British bishop in Somerset as late as the reign of King Ina, A.D. 688-725,§ so we are not left in uncertainty as to the existence of prelates out of Cymru.

It appears probable that the formation of parishes followed immediately the establishment of churches, and that their limits were determined by the manorial territory of the founder or his patron, or by the ministerial influence of the first incumbent. This circumstance would necessarily vary the dimensions of the original parishes. Often, however, when they proved inconveniently large, their respective saints divided them into smaller districts, and assigned the tithes of each for the support of a separate minister. In progress of time, chapels of ease would be erected for the accommodation of distant hamlets, and to

* Brut y Tywysogion.

† Though we read of an Archbishop of Celliwig in Cornwall, when Arthur was king, yet the primate of Wales even then seems to have had some authority in Devon and Cornwall, if we may judge from six or seven churches which are dedicated in those places to Dewi and Non his mother. The same appears to be confirmed by the following testimony of Gwynvardd Brycheinog:

“He (Dewi) endured buffetings, very hard blows,
From the hands of an uncourteous woman, devoid of modesty.
He took vengeance, he endangered the sceptre of Devon,
And those who were not slain were burned.”

Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 270.

‡ Rees's Essay, &c. p. 293.

§ A chronicle of Glastonbury quoted by Usher, who says it was written in 1259.—*Brit. Eccles. Primordia*, cap. v.

these the parish priest, if unable to attend in person, appointed curates, allowing them a certain stipend out of his own income ; for he still claimed the tithes of the whole district as before. After a while the district would be subdivided, and some parts assigned to the curacies, which would thus become parochial chapelries ; and though they were made perpetual, the minister of the mother Church still retained the right of nomination.*

This latter arrangement may reasonably be assigned to the era of Church extension under the native princes, which began early in the eighth century, as already observed. And it proves not only their wish to promote the spread of religion, but also their respect for the vested rights of churches, in entire accordance with the character given of them by Giraldus Cambrensis.†

But several chapelries were converted into independent rectories by foreign conquerors, who, likewise, made in general a new distribution of parishes. These are principally found in the southern part of Pembrokeshire, which was occupied by a colony of Flemings about A.D. 1100 ; in the vale of Glamorgan, conquered by Norman adventurers about A.D. 1090 ; and on the borders of England.‡

* Rees's Essay, &c. Sect. 1

† Hoare's Girald. B. i. ch. 18, and B. ii. ch. 6.

‡ Rees's Essay, &c. Sect. 1.

CHAPTER XIII.

MONASTERIES.

“They rest not day and night, saying, holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.”—Revelation iv. 8.

1. COR EURGAIN.

THIS college was founded by Eurgain, the daughter of Caradog, and called after her name; and was situate near the church of Iltyd, or rather perhaps of Ilid, in Siluria. Ilid ordered its polity, which appears to have been in general accordance with the model furnished by the apostolic college.* It consisted of twelve members, who issued out into different parts of the country, for the purpose of extending the influence of the Church, as is evident from a statement in the “Genealogy of Iestin ab Gwrgant,” which says, that in the reign of Cyllin “many of the Cymry were converted into the Christian faith through the instruction of the saints of Cor Eurgain.” Owain, the son of Cyllin, endowed it with possessions and riches. Very little is known of it afterwards, until the tenth century, when, we are told, king Edgar destroyed it by fire.†

2. BANGOR WYDRIN.

This was a distinguished establishment, as appears from the following Triad:—

“The three principal choirs of the isle of Britain;—Bangor

* Luke xxiv. 53; Acts i. 14; vi. 2; xv. 2, 22. Before the formation of parishes, the clergy in every country lived on common resources with their bishop, and discharged their various functions under his immediate guidance; nor would he enter upon any business of importance without consulting them.

† Pp. 57, 63, 65.

Illtyd Varchawg, in Caer Worgan ; Cor Emrys, in Caer Carad-awg ; and Bangor Wydrin, in the isle of Avallon ; and in each of these three Bangors were two thousand four hundred saints, that is, one hundred were engaged alternately every hour, both day and night, in celebrating the praise and service of God, without rest, without intermission.”*

The British traditions refer the origin of the college at Glastonbury to Elvan.† According to William of Malmesbury, an institution similar to the foregoing, consisting of twelve members, and endowed with twelve portions of land, existed here in the earliest period of Christianity. This did not flourish long ; but we are informed that in the reign of Lleirwg, it was restored to its original position by Dyvan and Fagan, with the consent and authority of the monarch, who confirmed its ancient charters.‡

Padrig is said to have rendered Bangor Wydrin similar in character to the monasteries of Egypt, and to have become its first abbot. Under him, it was further enriched with lands and possessions, the gifts of kings and princes. Many natives, whose names are now lost, succeeded him in his dignity, before the institution finally passed into the hands of the Saxons.§

According to the records of Glastonbury, Dewi visited the island with seven suffragans, for the purpose of dedicating its ancient church.|| An anonymous author of his life says expressly that he “founded” the monastery ;¶ whilst the compiler of “Brut y Tywysogion” is positive that Ivor “made the great friary in the isle of Avallon” in the year 683, out of gratitude to Almighty God for the victories which he had

* Tr. 84, third series.

† Cambrian Biography. Hughes’s *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. p. 342. Rees’s *Welsh Saints*, p. 87.

‡ Usher’s *Britan. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 55. Harding, *Chronic.* c. 51.

§ MS. libell. de reliquis cœnobii Glaston. circa tem. R. Henrici III. script. Johan. Tinmuthensis in *Vitâ Patricii. Tabula Magna Glastoniens.* MS. in *Bibliothecâ Collegii S. Trinitatis. Cantabrig. &c.* apud Usher, pp. 56, 58.

|| *Glastoniens. Tabulæ, Glastoniens. Chronograph.* Guil. Malmes., &c. apud Usher, pp. 47, 59, 60.

¶ Usher, *Index chronologicus.*

obtained over his enemies.* But such statements were no doubt made, in consequence of a vague knowledge as to the nature of the services which those persons rendered to the establishment. Its endowment was augmented by king Arthur, who was also, with his wife Gwenhwyvar, buried in its holy ground.†

Bangor Wydrin was wrested from the native Britons in the reign of Ina, king of the West Saxons. A.D. 721.‡

3. BANGOR ILLTYD.

This college was situate at Caerworgan, the Bovium of the Romans, and the usual residence of the kings of Glamorgan. Its origin is thus noticed in the "Genealogy of the Saints."—"It was the glory of the emperor Theodosius, in conjunction with Cystennyn Llydaw, surnamed the Blessed, to have first founded the College of Illtyd, which was regulated by Balerus, a man from Rome; and Padrig, the son of Mawon, was the first principal of it, before he was carried captive by the Irishmen."§ Who Theodosius was, his intimacy with Cystennyn, and the date of the event, have been elsewhere described.||

The establishment under the direction of Balerus, must have partaken of the general character of the schools which existed at that time in other parts of the empire, namely a liberal instruction in the arts and sciences. The interest of the emperor gave it the name of "Cor Tewdws," or the choir of Theodosius.

Padrig, according to his own "Confession,"¶ was taken prisoner

* Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 470. A similar statement is also made in "Brut Ieuan Brechva," *ibid.* p. 471. Professor Rees, however, is of opinion that Walter and Geoffrey, having previously confounded Cadwaladr with Ceadwalla the king of Wessex, the compilers of the chronicles alluded to, followed in the wake of the error, and assigned the history of Ina, successor of Ceadwalla, to Ivor, the supposed successor of Cadwaladr. See *Essay*, &c. p. 300.

† Britan. Eccles. Antiq. a p. 61 ad 64, 272, 273.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 10, 56, 57, 58, &c.

§ Translated in the Cambrian Biography, *voce* Padrig. || Page 106.

¶ See Hales on the origin and purity of the British churches. Appendix No. iii. Usher's Britan. Eccles. Antiq. c. xvii. According to his own account, Padrig was the son of Calpurnius, a deacon formerly, the son of Potitus, a priest, who was in the village of Banavan, belonging to Tabernia. In the Silurian

twice; but as he was only sixteen years of age, and moreover ignorant of the Gospel, when he was first captured, he could not have superintended this seminary before. He did so probably in the interval between his release and second captivity, or it may be after his second release and before he went as a missionary to Ireland. As we are assured that he visited in the mean time the most distinguished schools of learning on the Continent, that he became acquainted with Garmon, and was with him in Britain;* it appears as if this stage of his life would with the greatest propriety admit his academical presidency. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that, at the destruction of his monastery, Padrig should a third time be carried into Ireland, where he determined at once, with the divine assistance, to convert the people who could be guilty of such pagan enormities. He does not, it is true, assert the circumstance in express terms himself, nevertheless we may perhaps trace some foundation for it in his own words;—"Hiberionem non sponte pergebam."†

Probably we ought to read Padrig for Illyd, in the "Genealogy of the Saints,"‡ as the person who was appointed by Garmon to be principal of the Choir of Caerworgan, since Illyd was yet far too young for the situation, and did not assume the habit of an ecclesiastic for many years afterwards.§ Illyd restored the monastery under the patronage of Meirchion, a chieftain of Glamorgan,|| and, according to Liber Landavensis,

catalogue of saints, he is styled the son of Mawon, and said to have been born in the country of Gwyr, or Gower, in Glamorganshire. He was also called Padrig Maenwyn. Nennius asserts that before he was made bishop, his name was Maun, and that it was afterwards changed into Padrig. There would appear nothing irreconcilable in these various statements, were we to take into consideration the usual practice amongst the primitive Christians of changing their names on entering into holy orders; and we would feign recognize even in "Banavan Taberniæ," the words, *Pen avon Tav*, 'the head of the river Tav,' or something similar.

* Fiech's Panegyric, apud Hales, Appendix iv. Usher, Index Chronologicus. Moore's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 213.

† "Confession" apud Hales.

‡ See the passage translated in the "Horæ Britan. vol. ii. p. 161.

§ Illyd was a soldier in his younger days. See page 132.

|| Britan. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 252.

was appointed abbot by Dyvrig.* It was thence denominated Cor Illtyd, Bangor Illtyd, and Llan Illtyd Vawr.

Under its present governor, the seminary flourished exceedingly; for it contained more than two thousand students and holy men, among whom were many sons of kings and nobles.† These, according to an ancient MS.‡ had for their habitation seven halls and four hundred houses. The course of instruction adopted by Illtyd, embraced not only such sacred and profane literature, as was requisite for a clerical education, but also included husbandry, and other useful arts.§ In addition, there was a continual performance of divine service going on, as already described in the Triad. And the Book of Llandaf, moreover states, that “in this monastery, they had, out of reverence, bishops to sit in the chair of St. Peter, when they assembled together.”|| The diocesan bishop had supreme authority over the interior arrangements, if we may judge from the instance of Dyvrig, who “visited the residence of St. Illtyd, in the season of Lent, that he might correct what wanted amendment, and confirm what should be observed.”¶ On the other hand, the abbot seems to have much weight out of his own monastery; for we read, that he attended the synod relative to king Meurig and his uncle Friog; was one of those who elected Oudoceus to succeed Teilo in his see, and confirmed him in all the privileges of his predecessors, and who signed the gifts which kings and princes bestowed from time to time upon the bishop of Llandaf and his churches.**

An old parchment is mentioned by Dr. Nichol,†† in which appear these names of the abbots of Llan Illtyd;—Iltutus, Piro, Ivanus, Cennit, Samson, Gourthaver, Congers, Elbod, Tomre, Gurhavel, Nudh, Eliver, Segin, Camelaue, Bletri, and many more that cannot be read. It is observable that some of the foregoing were raised to the episcopacy, and were eminent men in their days.

* Lib. Land. p. 313. † Triad 84. Vita Gildæ apud Usher, p. 252.

† Horæ Britannicæ, vol. ii. p. 355.

§ Triad 56. Williams's History of Monmouthshire, Appendix, p. 45-53.

|| Liber Landavensis, p. 298.

¶ Ibid. 326.

** Ib. pp. 396, 372 &c.

†† Horæ Britannicæ, vol. ii. p. 355.

The following persons were sometime inmates of this monastic institution ;—Madog Morvryn, who was teacher ; Pawl Hen ; Dewi ; Gwenddoleu, Cov, and Nudd, sons of a northern chief ; Padarn ; Amwn Ddu, son of Emyr Llydaw, an Armorican prince ; Gwyndav Hen, his brother, who was confessor or chaplain ; Alan, another brother ; Lleuddad, Llonio Lawhir, and Llynab, the sons of Alan ; Eigrad, Samson, and Peirio, the sons of Caw ; Selyv, Cyngar, Iestin, and Cado, the sons of Geraint ab Erbin ; Elfin, the son of Gwyddno ; Teon, and his son Tegonwy ; Samson and Tathan, sons of Amwn Ddu ; Maglorius, nephew of Amwn and successor of Samson in the see of Dole ; Paulus and Leonorius, the former of whom was appointed bishop of Leon ; Isan ; Meugan, son of Gwyndav Hen ; Cawrdav, son of Caradog Vreichvras ; Usteg, the son of Geraint ab Carannog, who was dean of the college ; and his brother Eldad ; and Eldad the son of Arth.* Some of these are also known to have studied elsewhere ; whence we may infer, that it was not an unusual practice, to migrate from one college to another.

Bangor Illtyd is supposed to have lasted as a monastery for about six hundred years ; but the school continued for many ages afterwards, still decaying more and more, until it finally lost all its emoluments in the reign of Henry the Eighth.†

4. COR EMRYS.

According to the Bruts, the monastery of Cor Emrys was founded by a person of the name of Ambri, and contained three hundred inmates. Emrys Wledig visited it after his victory over the Saxons, and by the assistance of Merddin erected in its vicinity the stupendous pile of Stonehenge, as already described in Chap. V.‡

5. BANGOR ISCOED.§

It is said that Bangor Iscoed was established as a school of

* Rees's Essay on the Welsh Saints ; Cambrian Biography.

† Dr. Nichol apud Hor. Britan. vol. ii. p. 355.

‡ Page 118, Myv. Arch. vol. ii. pp. 275, 276, &c.

§ Called also Bangor in Maclor, and Bangor Dunawd.

learning in Lleirwg's reign,* and at one time it must have stood high in that respect, if it be true that Pelagius was a member.† It was converted into a monastery by Dunawd, in conjunction with his sons Deiniol, Cynwyl, and Gwarthan, under the patronage of Cyngen ab Cadell, prince of Powys, who moreover endowed it with lands.‡ In this new character it soon attained great celebrity, and according to Bede, and the British Chronicle, such was the number of its monks, that when they were distributed into seven classes under their respective governors, none of these classes contained less than three hundred persons, all of whom supported themselves by their own labour.§ Bale, and others, apply to this community the title of "Apostolic order;"|| probably because its regulations were conducted in conformity with the pattern of the apostles, who "were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God;"¶ and who "continued with one accord, in prayer and supplication with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren."** The abbot was a married man, and his wife, Dwywe, is ranked with the saints.

The great majority of those who attended the conference with Augustine, were, or had been, the disciples of Dunawd;†† which circumstance, in connection with his venerable age and profound learning, induced them naturally to fix upon him as their principal spokesman on the occasion.

* Pits. de Brit. script. num. 22 et 56. Cai. de antiquitat. Cantebrig. l. 1, p. 149, Franc. Sweertius, in Academiarum Catalog. Athenis Belgicis prefixo. Bal. Scriptor. Britan. Centur. 1, cap. 53. Bale and Pitsius designate it "Bannochorensen Christianorum philosophorum Collegium."

† Pelagius appears to have acquired a complete knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and of all the different branches of learning that were in his time deemed most necessary or reputable. The books which he wrote are enumerated in a note at page 100. ‡ Rees's Essay, &c. pp. 206, 207.

§ Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 2, Myv. Arch. vol. ii. p. 364.

|| Hospinian. Bale, cent. 1, cap. 53, 70, 74.

¶ Luke xxiv. 53.

** Acts i. 14.

†† "Septem Brittonum episcopi, et plures viri doctissimi, maxime de nobilissimo eorum monasterio, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg." Bed. lib. ii. cap. 2.

It has been recorded of the abbot, that before the battle of Bangor commenced, he made an oration to the army, and ordered the soldiers to kiss the ground in commemoration of the communion of the body of Christ, and take up water into their hands, out of the river Dee, and drink it in remembrance of his sacred blood which was shed for them.*

Besides the persons already mentioned, the following are known to have been inmates of the establishment in question:—Carwyd and Sawyl Benuchel (*high-headed*), brothers of the abbot; Deiniolen, the son of Deiniol; and Gwynod, Merin, Senevyr, Tudglyd, Tudno, and Tyneio, sons of Seithenyn, a chieftain whose territory lay on the coast of Cardiganshire.†

6. RHÔS.†

Padrig is said to have founded a monastery at this place, which was afterwards called Menevia. It was restored by Dewi, who lived there with his disciples, in the exercise of great austerities. He never partook of animal food, and drank only water; he also rigidly abstained from every interference in temporal affairs, except when compelled by urgent necessity, for he wished to devote all his time to prayer and spiritual contemplation. In like manner, his disciples spent their lives in reading, praying, attending to the poor, and working with their hands for their common bread, in due obedience to the apostolic precept,—“If any would not work, neither should he eat.”§ The monastery seems to have become extinct, or rather to have merged into an episcopal see, after Dewi had accepted the primacy of the Cambrian Church.

7. HENLLAN.

This college was situated on the banks of the Wye, and was founded by Dyvrig. Among his scholars were Teilo, Samson, Uvelwy, Merchwyn, Elgwored, Gwmyn, Cynwal, Arthvod, Cyn-gar, Arwystyl, Junabui, Cynvran, Gworvan, Aelhaearn, Iddneu, Gwardogwy, Gwernabwy, Ieuan, Aiddan, and Cynvarch. With

* Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 151. Humfrey Lluyd's Brev. p. 72.

† Rees's Essay, &c. Cambrian Biography.

‡ Vallis Rosina.

§ 2 Thes. iii. 10. Ricemarc. Giral. Jo. Teign. Usher, p. 253.

these he is also said to have instructed two thousand clergy, for seven successive years, both in divine and human wisdom.*

8. MOCHROS.

This was also on the Wye, the birth-place of Dyvrig, whither he removed with his numerous disciples from Henllan.†

9. LLANCARVAN.‡

The foundation of this college is ascribed to Cystennyn Llydaw, and Meirig ab Tewdrig,§ and its first principal is said to have been Dyvrig.|| He was succeeded by his friend Cattwg Ddoeth,¶ the usual tenor of whose teaching may be inferred from the following specimens, which are published in the Myvyrian Archæology:—

“The seven questions which were proposed by Cattwg Ddoeth to seven wise men of his college, at Llanveithin, and their several replies.

1.—Q. What is the greatest goodness which any man displays?

A. Justice. *Talhaiarn, the bard.*

2.—Q. What is the supreme wisdom of man?

A. Not to injure another when he has the power. *St. Teilo.*

3.—Q. What is the greatest mischievousness in man?

A. Unchastity. *Arawn ab Cynvarch.*

4.—Q. Who is the poorest man?

A. He who will not presume to take of his own property. *Taliesin, the chief of bards.*

5.—Q. Who is the richest man?

A. He who will not covet another person's property. *Gildas y Coed Aur.*

* Lib. Land. Life of St. Dubricius.

† Ibid.

‡ The particular spot on which this monastery stood was called Llanveithin.

§ Cambrian Biography, *roce* Meirig.

|| Genealogy of the Saints; see Horæ Britan. vol. ii. p. 161.

¶ It is said that Cattwg used to maintain daily a hundred clergymen, as many paupers, and the same number of widows, besides strangers and guests who frequently resorted to him, at his own expense.—*Jo. Tinn. apud Usher.*

6.—Q. What is the fairest quality with which a man is endowed?

A. Sincerity. *Cynan ab Clydno Eiddin.*

7.—Q. What is the greatest folly in man?

A. To wish evil to another without the power of inflicting it. *Ystyfan, the bard of Teilo.*”*

“Twelve questions put by Cattwg Ddoeth to his disciples.

1.—Q. Who is wise?

A. He who is not angry when he is disparaged, and is not proud when he is praised.

2.—Q. Who is discreet?

A. He who will consider well before he divulges his thoughts.

3.—Q. Who is strong?

A. He who can master his passions.

4.—Q. Who is powerful?

A. He who can conceal his poverty.

5.—Q. Who is vile?

A. He who hides not his own secrets.

6.—Q. Who is acceptable with the people?

A. He who can depend upon himself.

7.—Q. Who is cheerful?

A. He who feels not his conscience reproving him.

8.—Q. Who is free?

A. He who has a trade and profession, and can thereby maintain himself wherever he may be.

9.—Q. Who possesses good manners?

A. He who can bear with a passionate, ill-mannered person, in whose company he may be.

10.—Q. Who is good?

A. He who will punish himself for the benefit of others.

11.—Q. Who is happy?

* Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 38. At p. 39 there is another version, in which the answer to the question, “what is the greatest mischievousness in man?” is “falsehood,” attributed to Taliesin; whilst Arawn is made to reply to the question, “Who is the poorest man?”

A. He who will naturally hate what is bad, and naturally love what is good.

12.—Q. Who is godly?

A. He who believes in God, and loves him, and finds that his will and deed are superior to all things.”*

“The counsels which Cattwg Ddoeth gave to his scholar Taliesin, the chief of bards.

Consider before thou speakest,

First, what thou speakest ;

Secondly, why thou speakest ;

Thirdly, to whom thou speakest ;

Fourthly, concerning whom thou speakest ;

Fifthly, what will come of what thou speakest ;

Sixthly, what will be the benefit of what thou speakest ;

Seventhly, who may be listening to what thou speakest.

Place thy word on the end of thy finger before thou speakest it,

And turn it these seven ways before thou speakest it,

And no harm will ever result from what thou speakest.

• These were addressed by Cattwg Ddoeth to Taliesin the chief of bards, when he was giving him his blessing.”†

“The counsels given by Cattwg Ddoeth to Arawn the son of Cynvarch, king of the North, on his leaving the monastery.

Turn a deaf ear to every bad language ;

Turn thy back to every bad deed ;

Turn a closed eye to every thing monstrous ;

Turn thy sight and heart to every thing beautiful ;

Turn thy open hand to every poverty ;

Turn thy mind to every generosity ;

Turn thy reason to the counsels of the wise ;

Turn thy affection to things divine ;

Turn thy devotion to every goodness ;

Turn thy whole genius with a view to excel ;

Turn thy understanding to know thyself ;

Turn all thy sciences to accord with nature ;

* Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 55.

† Ibid. p. 49.

Turn all thy faculties upon what is happy ;
 Turn all thy heart and might upon God the Lord.”*

The abbots of Llancarvan, like those of Bangor Iltyd, exercised great influence in the diocese of Llandaf.†

In addition to the names already mentioned, the following are also found in connection with the establishment under consideration :—Edeyrn, son of Gwrtheyrn ; Ceidio, son of Ynyr Gwent ; Cynwyd Cynwydion ; Maelog and Huail, the sons of Caw ; Hywgi, or Bugi, brother of Cattwg, who gave all his lands for the endowment of his college ; Cyvyw, another brother, who held an office in the same ; Cennydd, Dolgan, Nwython and Gwynno, the sons of Gildas ; Gwodloew, grandson of Gwynllyw Vilwr, a teacher ; and Mydan the son of Pasgen, the son of Urien.‡

10. CAERLEON.

This college is supposed to have been founded by Dyvrig, and according to some copies of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it contained two hundred philosophers who studied astronomy, and other sciences. Gwyndav Hen was president of this institution ; and his son Meugan, two of whose poems are inserted in the Myvyrian Archaeology, studied here for some time after he had left Bangor Iltyd.§

11. TY GWYN AR DAV.

When Pawl Hen removed from the monastery of Iltyd, he founded a similar institution at Ty Gwyn ar Dav, or Whitland, in Carmarthenshire, of which he was himself the first abbot. He appointed Gredivael, and Flewyn, two of the sons of Ithel Hael, as superintendents or teachers under him. As the abbot had the reputation of being extensively learned in the Holy Scriptures, we find that many distinguished saints, among whom were Dewi, and Teilo, resorted to this monastery to share his instructions.||

* Ib. p. 58.

† Liber Landavensis, *passim*.

‡ Rees's Welsh Saints, Cambrian Biography § Ib. Myv. vol. i. pp. 159, 160.

|| Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 187. Liber Landavensis, p. 334.

12. BANGOR DEILO.

This college, situate at Llandaf, was opened by Teilo, under the patronage of Dyvrig.*

13. LLANGENYS.

It is stated in the "Genealogy of the Saints," that a congregation was founded at the above place in Glamorgan, by a person of the name of Cyngar.† He was also called Doewinus,‡ and most probably his institution was identical with the one alluded to in Liber Landavensis, the president of which, under the appellation of "Abbot of Docunni," appears as a witness to several grants which were conferred upon the cathedral.§

14. ENLLI.

Cadvan, in conjunction with king Einion, founded a monastery in the isle of Enlli, or Bardsey, off the western promontory of Carnarvonshire, and was himself its first abbot.|| So celebrated was this place for sanctity, that it was proverbially called "the Rome of Britain."¶ The Welsh bards also denominated it the land of Indulgences, Absolution, and Pardon, the Road to Heaven, and the Gate of Paradise;** and the bodies of twenty thousand saints are said to have been buried in its sacred ground :—††

" Twenty thousand saints of yore,
Came to lie on Bardsey's shore."‡‡

A contemporary bard§§ gives this interesting account of the

* Cambrian Biography, sub voc. Teilo. Welsh Saints, p. 243. Horæ Britannicæ, vol. ii. p. 164.

† Rees's Welsh Saints p. 183. Cambrian Biography.

‡ Capgrave in Vitâ S. Cungari.

§ Lib. Land. passim.

|| Rees's Essay, &c. p. 214.

¶ Lib. Land. p. 282.

** Cambrian Register.

†† Lib. Land. p. 282.

‡‡ Hywel ap Davydd ap Ievan ap Rhys, 1460

§§ Cattwg. The poem is said to have been his reply to some persons who asked his advice as to whether they should go to Enlli to avoid the tyranny of the Saxons. *Myv. Arch.* vol. iii. p. 3. In another place the lines are attributed to Aneurin. *Myv. Arch.* vol. i, p. 181.

pilgrimage of holy men, who had attended the synod of Brevi:—

“When the saints of the synod of Brevi,
After the excellent sermon of Dewi,
Were hastening to the isle of Enlli,
By the command of the ancient prophets,
That they might avoid every obstruction,
And the tedious constraint of molestation.

Then Cybi inquired,—
‘What sort of life shall we pass in the ocean?
What food shall be our sustenance
In the midst of the briny waves?’

Cattwg told Dewi,
As the prophet Eli would have done ;—
‘God grant you his counsel,
Both upon sea and land.
Endure every hardship:
Indolence will not avail you.
Wisdom is better than vain imagination.
It is better to labour than to suffer want.
Fasting, faith, and prayer,
Will overcome every difficulty.
It is a thousand times easier for God to give,
Than for man to ask any thing,
If the book of Generi be believed,
Which assures us,
That there never was a man yet born,
But God supplied him with food.
If you worship God, he will become better and better to you :
But if you respect the Devil, he will use you worse and worse.
Fear nothing that shall happen to you,
Any more than the blackbird in the bush :
She tills not, nor does any till for her,
Yet none more merry than she.
Let us all pray to the invisible God,
The Lord of all lords,
That he will, for the sake of Jesus and his five wounds,
Carry us through all difficulties,
And be our support,
And then no one need fear.’”

Cynon, who had accompanied Cadvan from Armorica, was made chancellor of this monastery.—Hywyn, another companion, the son of Gwyndav Hen, was confessor.—Dochdwy was a

bishop, and, upon the death of Cadvan, he was entrusted with the care of the diocese of Llandaf; whilst Teilo went over to regulate the affairs of Bardsey. The second abbot was Lleuddad ab Alan. His brother Llynab was also a member, as were likewise Trinio, Sulien, and Maelerw, grandsons of Emyr Llydaw; Durdan, a companion of Cadvan; Arwystli Glof, the son of Seithenyn; Mengan the Bard; Lleuddad, the son of Dingad ab Nudd Hael; Llewelyn ab Bleiddyd; and Archbishop Dyvrig.* The remains of the latter lay undisturbed in the island till, A.D. 1120, when they were removed by Urban to Llandaf, by the permission of David, bishop of Bangor, and Griffith, prince of North Wales.†

Cadwallon ab Owain Gwynedd, brother of Madog, who sailed for America, was abbot about A.D. 1169, and some time afterwards Robert ab Meredydd of the same family. The abbot held his lands "in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam."‡

15. CAERWENT.

The monastery of Caerwent, in Monmouthshire, was founded by Tathan, son of Amwn Ddu, under the patronage of Ynyr Gwent,§ to whom he became confessor. He was the first president, and taught the liberal arts and sciences to a great number of scholars, who flocked to him from all parts of the country.||

16. LLANEDEYRN.

A place in Glamorganshire, where Edeyrn, son of Gwrtheyrn, established a religious community of three hundred members.¶

17. BANGOR DEINIOL.**

This college of "apostolic order"†† was situate on the banks

* Rees's Welsh Saints; Cambrian Biography.

† Life of St. Dubricius in Wharton; Liber Landavensis, p. 329.

‡ Cambrian Register.

§ It appears from the "Life of St. Tatheus," by John of Teignmouth, that he was patronized, not by Ynyr Gwent, but by Caradog, the son of Ynyr. See Usher, p. 49.

|| Ibid.

¶ Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 186. Cambrian Biography.

** Called also Bangor Vawr, (*the great*), and Bangor in Arvon.

†† Jo. Bal. cent. 1 cap. 53. Cai. de Antiquit. Cantebr. l. 1, p. 149.

of the Menai, in Carnarvonshire, and was founded by Deiniol, the son of Dunawd, who was also its first principal. Maelgwn Gwynedd became his patron, and endowed the institution with lands and privileges.* Deiniolen succeeded to the monastic honours of his father;† and, towards the end of the eighth century, it is presumed that Elvod superintended the establishment, for Nennius is spoken of as his disciple.‡ The latter is also sometimes styled “Abbas Bancoriensis;” but, as no name is recorded in subsequent connection with it, the monastery, as a school of learning, probably terminated with him,

Some of the children of Helig Voel (*the bald*), a chieftain of a tract of low land on the coast of Carnarvonshire, were inmates of Bangor Deiniol.§

18. COR SEIRIOL.

A college at Penmon in Anglesey, established by Einion Vrenhin, over which he placed his brother,|| Seiriol, as the first principal. It became so celebrated, that “the men of Llychlyn,” or the Scandinavian rovers, resorted thither for instruction in the Christian faith.¶

Nidan, the son of Gwrwyw ab Pasgen ab Urien Rheged, is said to have been an “officiating minister” in this monastery; and Elaeth Vrenhin,** a northern chief, spent his latter days within its walls. Subordinate to it, was a cell in the island of Glanach, or Priestholm, off the coast adjacent, of which Seiriol has been considered the patron saint.††

19. LLANBADARN VAWR.

After he had removed from Bangor Iltyd, Padarn, according to the Welsh accounts, established a similar institution in Ceredigion, consisting of a hundred and twenty members, where

* Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 259.

† Ibid. p. 281.

‡ Nennius, prolog. et apolog.

§ Rees's Essay, &c. p. 298. Helig Voel's grandfather was engaged in the battle of Bangor Iscoed. || According to other accounts he was his nephew.

¶ Rees's Essay, &c. p. 212. Cambrian Biography.

** Elaeth was a bard, and a few religious stanzas attributed to him are preserved in the Myvyrian Archaeology.

†† Rees's Essays, &c. pp. 212, 271, 295. Cambrian Biography.

he had the title of archbishop. John of Teignmouth, however, says that it contained eight hundred and forty-seven monks, and that it was governed by an oconomus, a provost, and a dean. Cynudyn ab Bleiddyl ab Meirion is represented to have been a dean of this college.*

20. LLOWES.

Maelog or Meilig, the son of Caw, built a monastery at Llowes, in the district of Elvael, Radnorshire, where after having served God incessantly, with hymns and orations, with watchings and fastings, he rested in peace, illustrious for his virtues and miracles.†

21. COR CENNYDD.

A monastery in Gower, Glamorganshire, founded by Cennydd the son of Gildas. His brother Madog, and Tudwg, the son of Tyvodwg, one of the associates of Cadvan, were members of it.‡

22. TRALLWNG.

Otherwise Welshpool, Montgomeryshire; where a religious house was founded by Llewelyn§ ab Bleiddyl ab Meirion ab Tibion. A dialogue in verse between him and his son Gwrnerth, is inserted in the Myvyrian Archaiology, the composition of which is attributed to Tyssilio. From this poem, we gather that a looking for judgment, prayer, watching, almsgiving, chanting the hours, confession, penance, and the administration of the Holy Communion, entered into the habits and regulations of the society.||

* Rees's Essay, pp. 216, 261. Usher's Britan. Eccles. Antiq. p. 275.

† Life of Gildas, in the library of Fleury, Usher's Primordia, p. 676. In the same work, it is stated that Eigrad, Galgo, and Peithien, other children of Caw, renounced all worldly pomp, and withdrew to the furthest part of the country, (i.e. the isle of Anglesey), where, not far from each other, they built their several monasteries, placing their sister Piethien in the midst.—*Rees's Essay*, &c. p. 230.

‡ Ibid. p. 257.

§ Cynvelyn, a brother of Llywelyn, founded a church at the same place, which was probably connected with the monastery.

|| Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 162. In the heading of the poem it is premised that Llywelyn and Gwrnerth were wont to meet together the last three hours of the night, and the first three hours of the day, when they celebrated their matins, and the other hours.

23. LLANELWY.

This college was established by Cyndeyrn, and consisted of nine hundred and sixty-five brethren, who were engaged as follows:—three hundred, that were illiterate, tilled the ground, and looked after the cattle; three hundred more prepared diet and other necessities; and the remaining three hundred and sixty-five, who were learned, performed divine service. These latter were disposed in such a manner, as, when one portion of them had done, another immediately began, so that the service of the church was carried on, day and night, without intermission. Cyndeyrn, on his being recalled to his northern see, left this institution in the care of his disciple Asaf.*

24. CAERGYBI.

Cybi founded a monastery at Holyhead, in Anglesey, of which he also became president. Mygnach the son of Mydno of Caer Seont, or Carnarvon, was for some time registrar in it, and afterwards succeeded to the abbacy. A dialogue in verse, between him and Taliesin, is inserted in the Myvyrian Archaiology. Padrig, the son of Alvyrd, was a member of this establishment.†

25. CLYNNOG,

Founded by Beuno,‡ upon a plot of ground granted him by Cadvan, for which he gave a golden sceptre, as an acknowledgement.§

Such were some of the primitive monasteries of Cymru, which the Church made use of to advance her interest in the land. That there were many more, of which all records have perished, seems indubitable. It is the testimony of Giraldus, in reference to the time of Dewi, that “monasteries were built everywhere; and many congregations of the faithful, of various orders, were collected, to celebrate with fervent devotion the sacrifice of Christ.” || John of Teignmouth says of Padarn, that he “built

* Willis's Survey of St. Asaph, by E. Edwards, A.M. vol. i. p. 38.

† Rees's Welsh Saints; Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 46.

‡ Beuno in his old age was one of the instructors of Gwenvrewi.

§ Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 268.

|| Girald. apud Usher, p. 253.

monasteries and churches throughout the whole region of Ceretia,* one only of which we have been able to specify in the foregoing account.

To insinuate that these institutions were not of native growth, but were imported from abroad, would be wholly unnecessary; for Cor Eurgain, at least, was as old as the British Church itself, and its general plan, no doubt, derived immediately from the Apostles. Indeed the incessant performance of Divine Service seems to have been copied from the employment of heaven;—"They rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come."† It was not without great propriety, therefore, that the title of "Apostolic order" was given to some of these societies.

Though a few originated in the infancy of the Church, yet it is observable that the great majority followed the relaxation of the Bardic system, and assumed a character suitable to the spiritual exigences of the times. There is also reason to suppose that they were frequently erected on spots which Druidism had invested with popular veneration, as was the case with Cor Emrys on the plains of Caradawg.‡ It would appear that the ancient circles communicated to them their names, "Cor," and "Bangor," which may imply, too, that the divine service which the monks performed was choral. This, indeed, is positively asserted of some, as Glastonbury, Cor Emrys, and Bangor Illtyd, where, according to the Triad, there were "continual choral songs."§ Sometimes, as at Caerworgan, mere secular schools were converted into monasteries; and yet in these new establishments knowledge, both secular and religious, was imparted, though in subservience to the adoration of God, which was the most prominent feature in their character.

Certain abbots, as Pawl Hen, Lleuddad, and Cybi, are styled bishops; from which it is inferred that they exercised chorepiscopal authority in their respective societies, though it is agreed that all of them were ultimately subject to their diocesans. It

* Jo. Tinn. apud Usher, p. 275.

† Rev. iv. 8.

‡ Of this description were most probably Bangor Dunawd, Bangor Wydrin, and Enlli, which is said to have been called Bardsey, (*i.e.* Bard's isle), on account of its being a favorite resort for bards.

§ Triad 80, first series.

happened occasionally that independent dioceses were allotted to them, as at Llanbadarn, Banger, and Llanelwy, in which cases their monasteries gradually subsided into Cathedral chapters.

Though these primitive institutions followed no uniform rule, yet all were equally averse to the enforcement of celibacy. Many of the monks were married men, and it is remarkable that the only notices we have of several of them have been transmitted under the title of the "GENEALOGY of the Saints." Yet some abstained from marriage on principle, and Cattwg and Illtyd, are commendably mentioned as having "led a life of celibacy, and devoted themselves to the law of God and the faith in Christ."* It would appear moreover from the legends that some of the female "saints" made a vow of virginity, and probably they were solemnly consecrated to the service of God by bishops, as was the custom in Gaul.† As there were no nunneries at this period in Wales, it is presumed that these continued to live in the society of their kindred at home, or else retired into a monastery, where, with the matrons, they ministered, apart from their devotional studies, in those domestic duties which are the peculiar province of a woman.

Some of these institutions appear to have declined, or perished upon the death of their first abbot, some merged into chapters, and others gradually approximated in their general character to the monasteries of the regular orders which were established in England. The following particulars from the laws of Hywel Dda will throw some light on the legal or civil aspect which they wore in the tenth century.

To protect the privileges of monasteries was one of the four absolute rights of the king.‡

The abbot had an independent court, with power to take cognizance of offences, and to punish them.§

* Triad 122.

† Garmon was a party to a consecration of this nature, while proceeding on his mission to Britain.—See *Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. chap. ii.

‡ The others were, the protection of public roads, the right of creating laws, and of coining money within his dominions, and of presiding in the principal causes that related to himself, his crown, and its appendages. *Wotton's Leges Wallicæ*, lib. i. cap. 47.

§ Ibid. lib. iv. 141.

All disputes between monks were to be settled by the judges of the monastery.*

If any arose between the dependants of the king, and the dependants of the abbot, they were to be decided by the judges of both tribunals conjointly.†

When the ordinary judges of the land differed in points of law, the regular and secular canons were appointed extraordinary judges.‡

Hermits, and persons in holy orders, were incompetent to give bail; as were likewise monks, without the consent of their abbots; and scholars, without the consent of their preceptors.§

The solitary evidence of an abbot in a case between two of his monks was admissible.||

A monk, if related to a murderer or to the murdered person, was neither to pay nor to receive any part of the compensation.¶

A tonsured scholar, convicted of theft, was for the first offence to be merely degraded, and reduced to the rank of a layman.**

If a scholar had a son born in wedlock before ordination, that son was not obliged to divide his patrimony amongst his brothers who may have been born subsequently, and who, on that account, were deemed illegitimate.††

The abbot had a part of the wreck cast upon his land.‡‡

A portion of the fine exacted from any individual for the desecration of a churchyard or a sanctuary by fighting, accrued to the abbot, where he was a man of a literary degree, and skilled in ecclesiastical usages.§§

The goods of the abbot went, upon his decease, to the cloister and canons, except his heriot of twelve pounds, which the lord of the territory claimed.||||

A person on wearing the tonsure became necessarily free, and therefore it was not lawful to teach the liberal arts to a vassal without the consent of his lord.¶¶

* Wotton's Leges, lib. iv. 141.

† Ibid. 140.

|| The evidence was to be given at the door, or entrance, of the choir. Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 2.

** Ibid. lib. iv. 74.

†† Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 17.

||| Ibid. lib. iv. 141.

† Ibid.

§ Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 4.

¶ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 1.

†† Ibid. 188.

§§ Ibid. lib. iv. 268.

¶¶ Ibid. 31.

Besides monks or friars, there were also hermits, who dwelt in solitary cells, and deserts, and practised the greatest austerities of religion. Such were Cein Wryyv, or Virgin, the daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog, in a certain wood beyond the Severn;* Talhaiarn, the bard, who resided at a place in Denbighshire, since called Llanvair Talhaiarn;† Elgar, in the isle of Bardsey, “who had nothing for his maintenance except the support which he received through the providence of God, from the fish of the sea, and what the eagles, or as we may say, angels, brought to him.”‡ Tewdrig, in the solitude of Tinteyrn, Monmouthshire;|| Baruck, who “entered into a solitary, strict, course of life,” and lies buried in the isle of Barry, Glamorganshire;§ Degeman, who “passed the river Severn upon a hurdle of rods, and retired himself into a mountainous vast solitude, covered with shrubs and briars, where he spent his life in the repose of contemplation;”¶ and the anchorite whom the Britons consulted on their way to the Augustinian synod.**

* Cressy, apud Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 153.

† Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 168.

‡ Liber Landavensis, life of St. Elgar.

|| Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 184.

§ Cressy, Welsh Saints, p. 304.

¶ Ibid. p. 305.

** Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. ii.

CHAPTER XIV.

COUNCILS.

“And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter.”—Acts xv. 6.

1. ARLES, A.D. 314.*

THE first council at which we know British bishops to have been present, was that of Arles; and as there is little doubt that Adelfius represented the Church of Cymru, it may be fit and interesting to exhibit an abstract of the canons which were then passed. They may be reduced into three heads: on the keeping of Easter; on the discipline of the clergy; and on lay communion.

I. In reference to Easter. It was decreed,

That it should be everywhere observed on the same day and time; and that the bishop of Rome should give notice of it according to custom.† *Can.* 1.

II. In reference to the clergy.

1. That no bishop should trample upon another.‡ *Can.* 17.

2. That travelling bishops should be allowed to perform divine offices in the city they came unto. *Can.* 19.

3. That no bishop should consecrate another without the assistance of seven, or at least three, bishops besides. *Can.* 20.

* This is often called “a plenary and universal council, not from the number of bishops present, but from the provinces out of which they came; and so it was the first general council of the Western Church.”—*Stillingfleet*, p. 87.

† This latter part was repealed, as Binius confesses, by the council of Nice, which referred the matter to the bishop of Alexandria.—See *Stillingfleet* and *Collier*.

‡ Albaspinæus interprets this of encroaching upon another’s diocese.

4. That if any were proved to have been *Traditores*, that is, to have given up the sacred books or vessels in the time of persecution, or to have betrayed their brethren, they were to be deposed. However, their ordinations are declared to be valid. *Can. 13.*

5. That clergymen, who put out money to usury, should be excommunicated. *Can. 12.*

6. That they should not forsake the churches, where they were ordained, on pain of deprivation. *Can. 2 and 21.*

7. That deacons be forbidden to celebrate the Lord's Supper. *Can. 15.*

III. In reference to lay communion.

1. That those who renounce their military profession, now the persecution was over, should be excommunicated.* *Can. 3.*

2. That those who drove chariots in the circus, and acted in theatres, should be excommunicated as long as they continued to do so. *Can. 4, 5.*

3. That those who were Christians, and made governors of remote places, should carry the communicatory letters of their own bishop along with them, and not be barred communion, unless they acted against the discipline of the Church. *Can. 7.*

4. That those who were received into the Church in their sickness, should have imposition of hands afterwards. *Can. 6.*

5. That those who brought testimonials from confessors should be obliged to take communicatory letters from their bishop. *Can. 9.*

6. That any person who had proof of his wife's adultery should be advised not to marry again whilst that wife lived. *Can. 10.*

7. That those young women who married infidels should for a time be suspended communion. *Can. 11.*

* The Latin runs thus: "Qui in pace arma projiciunt, excommunicantur." Binius will have the reading to be "in bello." Albaspinæus says that the canon is directed against those "who refuse to be soldiers in time of peace;" whilst Baronius maintains that it is against them "that apostatize in time of peace." More probably, however, it was enacted with a view to prevent the inconvenience of an infidel army, which might result from the permission given by Constantine to the soldiers to forsake their employment if they wished.

8. That those who falsely accused their brethren should not be admitted to communion until the point of death. *Can.* 14.

9. That none who were excommunicated in one place should be absolved in another. *Can.* 16.

10. That no apostates should be admitted to communion in sickness; but they ought to wait until they recovered and shewed amendment. *Can.* 22.

11. That those who were baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity should not be re-baptized.* *Can.* 8.

2. SARDICA, A.D. 347. 3. ARIMINUM, A.D. 359.

Though British prelates attended both these councils, as is evident from the testimonies of Athanasius and Sulpitius Severus, yet the reasons assigned in chapter III, would appear decisive that none of them came from the particular province of Cymru. It may be added, in further corroboration of this hypothesis, that the conduct and sentiments of the Cambrian clergy were, for centuries afterwards, most unequivocally opposed to that canon of Sardica, which appears to establish appeals to the see of Rome.†

4. TROYES, A.D. 429.‡

At this council, which was numerously attended by the clergy of Gaul, the application of the Britons in reference to Pelagianism was considered; when it was unanimously decreed that Garmon and Bleiddian should immediately proceed to the assistance of their brethren against that subtle and extensive heresy.

5. VERULAM, A.D. 429.§

The Cymry must have felt an interest in the result of this

* Sirmondus and Launoy think that this was the canon which St. Augustine on all occasions pressed upon the Donatists. *Origines Britannicæ*, cap. ii.

† *Origines Britannicæ*, cap. iii.

‡ That this council was held at the place and time here mentioned, is not certain, but only probable. See note in Labbe's *Conc.* iii. 1508.

§ *Flor. Hist.* ad annum 446. The date of this meeting depends, of course, upon that of the Gallican synod.

conference, though it is not probable that any of them were present. We will therefore, in addition to our former account, briefly observe, that a vast multitude of people, with their wives and children, attended, and were judges of the controversy ;—that the Pelagian leaders were surrounded by a host of admirers, and were conspicuous for the gorgeousness of their dress ;—and that the Gallic prelates gave them the opportunity of first addressing the meeting.*

6. — A.D. 447.

It would appear that a council was held somewhere in Britain on the second arrival of Garmon, when sentence of banishment was unanimously passed upon the chief promoters of the Pelagian heresy.†

7. GWRTHEYRNION, A.D. 447.

A large body of clergy and laity met at Gwrtheyrnion, in the county of Radnor, to take cognizance of the conduct of Gwrtheyrn, who was charged with the crime of incest. Gwrtheyrn was present, as well as the unfortunate partner of his guilt, who endeavoured to exculpate him at the expense of Garmon's reputation. The conspiracy however was speedily detected, and the prince was cursed and condemned by the saint and the whole synod.‡

8. CAEREVRAWC, A.D. 466.

Emrys Wledig summoned a council of “ the princes, earls, barons, knights, bishops, abbots, and scholars ” of the realm, where it was agreed that all the churches destroyed in the late wars should be restored.§

9. BREVI, A.D. 519.

In consequence of the revival of Pelagianism, a general synod of the bishops, abbots, and religious persons of different orders,

* Constant. lib. i. cap. 23.

† Nennius, sect. 39.

‡ Ib. lib. ii. cap. 3 and 4.

§ Myv. Arch. vol. ii. pp. 274, 275.

together with the princes and other laymen of Cymru, was held at Brevi, in the county of Cardigan.* Many speeches were publicly delivered, but all proved ineffectual to reclaim the heretics from their false notions. Upon which Pawl Hen earnestly entreated that the holy, discreet, and eloquent Dewi, who had formerly studied with him, might be summoned from his monastic seclusion. Messengers were accordingly despatched to desire his attendance; but their solicitations were unavailing, until at length the aged primate himself, accompanied by the abbot of Bangor Vawr, went, by whom he was persuaded to sacrifice his private duties at the shrine of the public weal. On his arrival, he expounded the Law and the Gospel, or delivered what one of his contemporaries designates a “worthy sermon,” with such grace and power, that he completely silenced his adversaries. Dyvrig now resigned the archbishopric, and Dewi was unanimously elected in his stead.†

10. CAERLEON, A.D. 529.

It would appear from the *Annales Menevenses* that “the synod of Victory” was held at Caerleon. It consisted of all the clergy of Wales, who there confirmed the decrees of Brevi against the Pelagians, and added others for the advantageous government of the Church. Dewi committed them all to writing with his own hand, and sent copies to most of the churches in his jurisdiction; and these two councils are said to have furnished, in future, the rule and standard of the whole province of Cymru.‡

11. YSTRADYW, A.D. 5—.§

At this synod bishop Gwrwan excommunicated Tewdwr, son

* According to the Utrecht MS. there were present 118 bishops, besides abbots and others. We possess, however, the names of none except Dyvrig, Pawl Hen, Deiniol, Dewi, Cattwg, and Cybi.

† Giraldus Cambrensis.

‡ Ibid. Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 196. Giraldus says that these canons were lost by means of the frequent incursions of pirates on the coasts of Wales.

§ The place of this synod is conjectured to be Ystrad Yw, from its being the supposed station of Gwrwan, who was a chorepiscopus in the time of Teilo. See p. 208.

of Rhun, king of Dyved, who had treacherously killed Elgystyl, son of Awst, king of Brecknock.

12. LLANDAF, A.D. 5—.†

Meurig, king of Glamorgan, treacherously slew Cynveddw, after they had both sworn, in the presence of Oudoceus at Llandaf, that there should be firm peace kept between them. The bishop therefore convoked all his clergy from the mouth of Taratyr in Wye to the Towy, together with Cyngen, abbot of Lllancarvan, Cadgen, abbot of Bangor Iltyd, and Sulien, abbot of Docunni; and in full synod excommunicated the king, with his progeny, saying, “May his days be few, may his children be orphans, and his wife a widow.”‡

13. LLANCARVAN, A.D. 5—.

King Morgan, grandson of Meurig, in like manner deceitfully killed his uncle Frioc, whereby, according to the articles of agreement which had been previously drawn up between them, he forfeited his dominions, and became liable to perpetual pilgrimage. Having gone to Oudoceus to seek pardon for his crime, the bishop convened a synod at the monastery of Lllancarvan, similar in all respects to the preceding one, at which it was unanimously adjudged, that on account of the destitute state of the kingdom, Morgan should, by means of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, redeem his pilgrimage, together with his perjury and murder.§

14. LLANDAF, A.D. 5—.

Here Oudoceus, in a synod of all the clergy of his diocese, excommunicated Gwaednerth, for the murder of his brother Meirchion, who had disputed the crown with him.||

* Liber Landavensis, p. 413.

† Sir Harris Nicolas dates this synod, and the two following, A.D. 560.

‡ Liber Landavensis, p. 390.

§ Lib. Land. p. 395.

|| Ib. p. 430.

15. AUGUSTINAE AC,* A.D. 603. 16. — A.D. 603.

Augustine, at his first meeting with the British bishops, seems to have requested not only their aid in the conversion of the Saxons, but also a complete uniformity with Rome, under pretence of "catholic peace" and "ecclesiastical unity." But after a long dispute on the subject, "they were not willing to give assent to the entreaties, the exhortations, and the rebukes of Augustine and his friends, but preferred their own traditions, rather than those of all the Churches which throughout the world agree in Christ." And even when at length they were persuaded that he had truth on his side, "they could not renounce their ancient customs without the consent and permission of their countrymen."† This was the occasion of the second synod, where the indignation of the Britons at the haughty demeanour of Augustine, shewed to him at once the expediency of reducing his proposals, which he accordingly did, to the five following:—That they should celebrate Easter at the same time with the Church of Rome;—administer Baptism after the Roman fashion;—join him in preaching to the Saxons;—receive him as their primate;—and acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. The three former he insisted upon in plain terms, but they were as positively rejected by the other party, who replied,—“We will perform none of these.”

Gregory had designed that the jurisdiction of Augustine should extend over the bishops of Wales, for in answer to his question on the subject, he says:—"We commit to thee, our brother, all the bishops of the provinces of Britain, that the unlearned be instructed, the weak be strengthened by persuasion, the perverse be corrected by authority." And in another

* According to Bede, this was on the confines of the Huiccii and West Saxons. "Probably near Aust, or Aust-clive (Camd. Brit. Col. 237), the usual passage for ferrying over the Severn into Wales, and where Edward the Elder had afterwards an interview with Leoline, prince of that country; it lying on the extremity of Gloucestershire, inhabited by the Huiccii, and on the borders of what was in Bede's time the kingdom of the West Saxons." — *Carte's Hist. Engl.* i. 224.

† We recognize here a principle of the ancient laws of Wales. See p. 69, *note*.

letter :—" Thou, our brother, shalt have in subjection, not only those bishops whom thou shalt ordain, nor those only who shall have been ordained by the archbishop of York, but also all the clergy of Britain, by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ." Though this jurisdiction was not claimed by Augustine in direct terms at the conference, yet it was clearly implied in the expression,—“ Si in tribus his *miki obtemperare vultis* ;” and that the natives understood him in that sense is likewise clear, for they return answer, that “ they would not have him for an archbishop.” Since he acted as the pope’s legate, compliance with his demands would of course have been an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy, as was a rejection of them a denial of that doctrine. Such is the view which is presented by the venerable Bede on the subject.*

In the Welsh accounts there is no allusion to the paschal and baptismal questions, whilst the demand for the cooperation of the Cymry in evangelizing the Saxons is prominent. And the reason assigned for their refusal, was, that the Saxons were their enemies, and that Gregory should have exhorted them to make a restitution of the lands, which they had unjustly usurped, as the first step in their preparation for the Christian state. With respect to his archiepiscopal claims, they maintained, on Scriptural grounds, that they ought not to “ submit to him, since they had an archbishop of their own ; — that they ought not to render obedience to any one in the island, except the archbishop of Caerleon, inasmuch as he was chief and primate in the isle of Britain.” And the supremacy of the pope they unequivocally denied, when they declared that they were “ under the government of the bishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk, who was to oversee, *under God*, over them, to cause them to keep the way spiritual.”† Thus not one point was conceded on the part of the Cymry to the Romish legate at either of these synods.

17. LLANDAF, A.D. 6—.

Clydri and Idwallon were kings in Ergyng, and they mutually

* Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 2. Lib. i. cap. 27 and 29.

† Myv. Arch. vol. ii. pp. 364, 365. Spelm. Concil. Brit. p. 108.

swore, in the presence of Berthgwyn, bishop of Llandaf, that they would preserve firm peace towards each other. After a time, however, the former acted treacherously, and killed the latter; wherefore the bishop assembled all his clergy, and in full synod excommunicated Clydri, “with all his progeny, and also his kingdom, by making bare the altars of God, placing the crosses on the ground, and dismissing the country without baptism and communion.”*

18. LLANDAF, A.D. 6—.

This was a full synod of the clergy of the diocese, at which Berthgwyn, the bishop, excommunicated Gwrgan, who had lived incestuously with his step-mother.†

19. LLANDAF, A.D. 8—.

Bishop Cerenhir assembled a complete synod of his clergy, at which he excommunicated Hywel, king of Glewyssig, for having treacherously murdered Gwallwn, the son of Ceidrich.‡

20. LLANDAF, A.D. 8—.

Ili, son of Cynvlws, and Camawg solemnly swore, in the monastery of Llandaf, and in the presence of Cerenhir and his clergy, that their ancient enmity was forgotten. Nevertheless, after a time, Ili deceitfully slew Camawg; wherefore the bishop assembled all his clergy, and by their advice in council, “took away all communion and participation of Christians from the aforesaid murderer and perjured person, Ili.”§

21. LLANDAF, A.D. 8—.

This synod consisted of the clergy and learned men between Towy and Wye, and was convened in order to adjudicate between Brochwael, son of Meurig, and bishop Cyveiliawg, in a dispute which they had respecting a certain church and its territory. The decision was in favour of the bishop, and Broch-

* Liber Landavensis, p. 425.

† Ibid. p. 439.

‡ Ibid. p. 467.

§ Ibid. p. 469.

wael was made to say, "I sacrifice to God, and do by oath confirm this church, with all its land and liberty, to God, and to St. Dyvrig, St. Teilo, and St. Oudoceus, and to all bishops of Llandaf for ever, without any payment to any mortal man, besides the pastors of Llandaf, and with all commonage in field and in woods, in water and in pastures."*

22. LLANDAF, A.D. 8—.

The family of Brochwael having inflicted some injury upon that of Cyveiliawg, the bishop summoned together all his clergy, "even to the inferior degrees," and would have excommunicated Brochwael and all who were guilty of the outrage. Brochwael, however, sought pardon and indulgence, which were ultimately granted him, on his giving to God, and the bishops of Llandaf for ever, "the village of Trevperen, with six modii of land, and with all its liberty, and all commonage in field and in woods, in water and in pastures."†

23. LLANDAF, A.D. 928.

Tewdwr, son of Elised, king of Brecknock, ill-treated Libiau, bishop of Llandaf, whereupon the latter assembled all the clergy of his diocese, and in full synod caused the king to be anathematized.‡

24. LLANOUDOCUI, A.D. 9—.

This synod of "the clergy of the ecclesiastical order of all the diocese" of Llandaf, was convened by bishop Gulfrid, on account of Llywareh, son of Cadwgan, who had committed plunder in the territory and refuge of Dyvrig, Teilo, and Oudoceus. Llywarch attended, acknowledged his crime, and sought pardon with bended knees and an effusion of tears. Upon which "the bishop, having entered into counsel with the synod, and some principal persons of the diocese of the laical order and catholic

* Liber Landavensis, p. 491.

† Ibid. p. 493.

‡ Ibid. p. 499.

faith, forgave him, on his restoring to him and his men all the things that he had plundered; and remission was given, and penance enjoined proportionate to his crime.”*

25. TY GWYN AR DAV, A.D. 942.

This convention was held under Hywel Dda, for the purpose of revising the legal code of Wales. According to “*Brut y Tywysogion*,” the king summoned to it “all the heads of tribes of the country, with their family representatives, and all the wise and learned men of the laity, and the clergy.” In a MS. of the twelfth century, belonging to the Welsh school in London, they are said to have been six out of each commot, of whom four were lay, and two scholastic or clerical. Whilst another MS., of the Sebright collection, written about A.D. 1400, makes the number to be “six of the wisest men out of every commot in Cymru who were lay, and one hundred and forty men who bore the crozier, namely, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors.” The presence of the clergy was considered necessary as a check upon the laity, lest the latter should enact anything at variance with the canon law, or the Holy Scriptures.†

26. MAINOUN, A.D. 943.

Padarn, bishop of Llandaf, assembled the clergy of his whole diocese, on account of the sacrilegious violence of king Nowi, who had murdered Arcoed in the mansion of Dyvrig, Teilo, and Oudoceus, at Trelech. Upon which the king with tears sought pardon of the bishop and the whole synod in the church of Mainoun, which was granted him on his doing suitable penance, and giving the village of Guideon in alms to God and the bishops of Llandaf for ever.‡

27. GWENT, A.D. 955.

A certain deacon, named Ili, having been killed by six men of the family of Nowi, before the altar in the church of St. Jar-

* *Liber Landavensis*, p. 480.

† *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 484, &c. Vol. iii. pp. 360, 361.

‡ *Lib. Land.* p. 474.

men and St. Febric, Padarn sent orders to all the monasteries within his jurisdiction, that the priests, deacons, and clergy of all degrees should assemble in synod. They accordingly met, together with Nowi and his friends, in the city of Gwent, and by the advice of all the doctors of both parties, the murderers were delivered into the hands of the bishop, and were taken to the monastery of St. Teilo, where they passed six months in iron fetters. Moreover, it was agreed that each of them should give to the church he had defiled, his land and all his substance, and also the price of his life, which was seven pounds of silver.*

Other synods are recorded in *Liber Landavensis* as having been held prior to the final subjugation of the Welsh Church; but as they were all confined to the diocese of Llandaf, which had already submitted to Canterbury, we do not think it necessary to mention them here.

The prominence which the synods of Llandaf occupy in the latter part of this chapter is remarkable, and may be chiefly owing to the fulness and accuracy of its register, as compared with the scanty annals of the remaining sees.

* *Liber Landavensis*, p. 477.

CHAPTER XV.

HERESIES.

“There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.”—1 Corinthians xi. 19.

1. BASILIDIANISM.

ACCORDING to Irenæus, the doctrines of Basilides* prevailed in Gaul immediately after the Apostolic age. It is supposed that they were also introduced into Britain, but the hypothesis rests solely on the recent discovery of an alleged talisman near the Roman station of Segontium.† This was a very attenuated plate of gold, measuring about four inches by one, and judged to be of the second century. It exhibited distinctly, in Greek letters, the Hebrew words ΑΔΩΝΑΙ, ΕΛΩΑΙ, ΙΑΩ, ΕΛΛΙΩΝ, and afterwards followed another inscription in astral, or magical characters.‡ If indeed this relic of antiquity involved the heresy in question, yet we can scarcely impute it to any of the native Christians, as the spot where it was found, though within the borders of Cymru, would more naturally associate it with the imperial legions. Moreover, a host of historians, both ancient and modern, expressly assert that the Britons preserved the faith whole and undefiled down to the era of Dioclesian.§

2. ARIANISM.

There can be no doubt that the sentiments of the British bishops, when they first entered the council of Ariminum, were strongly opposed to the Arian heresy. Their subsequent change, therefore, is no argument against the soundness of the creed of Britain at that particular period, though it instances a general

* He was one of the chief leaders of the Egyptian Gnostics, who blended Christianity with the Egyptian and Oriental philosophy. His followers were particularly addicted to the use of charms and amulets.

† Namely, at Llanbeblig, near Carnarvon.

‡ Cambrian Quarterly, vol. i. p. 116.

§ See p. 75, *note*.

abatement in the spirit to endure persecution. Nevertheless, we are credibly informed by Gildas and Bede that Arianism did find its way into this country, and was the cause of much confusion in the Church.* Usher supposes this to have taken place between A.D. 378 and 383, when Gratian, who was favourable to the Arians, issued an edict that all sects, with the exception of the Manicheans, Photinians, and Eunomians, should have free exercise of faith and worship throughout his empire.† It is observable, however, that the edict could have but a limited effect among the Cymry, for reasons similar to those on which we grounded the improbability of their church being represented at Ariminum. Still we dare not exculpate them from the charge of Arianism: indeed it may be a question whether they did not embrace it more generally than their neighbours, seeing they wanted the Nicene formula,—“that bulwark which kept heresy out of the Church.”‡ Perhaps, however, we shall not be far from the truth, if we describe the evil as pretty generally diffused, and that to no alarming extent, throughout the several provinces of Britain. The latter position is borne out by the testimonies of Jerome and Chrysostom, who often speak in their writings of the orthodoxy of the British Churches.§

We read of no active measures as having been adopted for the suppression of the Arian heresy, neither is the period of its final disappearance known. It does not seem, however, to have been of long continuance; and we may reasonably presume that it began to decline soon after its introduction, and that its later votaries, “always fond of hearing something new, and holding nothing with firmness,”|| eventually transferred their belief to the more plausible theory of Pelagius.

* *Historia Gildæ*, sect. 12. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 8.* On the margin of one MS. of Gildas, belonging to the public library of the university of Cambridge, is written:—*Agricola quidam homo discipulus Arriani, qui perturbavit fidem Britonum.*”

† See *Primord.* p. 197, and the authorities there quoted; also *O'Connor Script. Rer. Hibern. vol. i. Prolegom. p. 111.*

‡ *Theod. lib. ii. cap. 19.*

§ *Hieron. tom. i. epist. 17. Id. tom. ii. epist. 85. Id. in Orthodoxi et Luciferiani Dialogo. Chrysost. Oper. tom. vi. edit. Græc. Savilian. p. 635. Ibid. tom. viii. p. 111. Ib. tom. p. 696. Ib. tom. v. p. 979. || Gildas et Beda.*

3. PELAGIANISM.

Pelagius does not seem to have derived his theory about the freedom of the will originally from the Bardo-druidic philosophy, as is sometimes maintained. On the contrary, he left his native land, and lived a long time in the best society at Rome, before he was even suspected of heterodoxy. So naturalized indeed was he considered in the city, that Orosius and his friends, in reply to John of Jerusalem, who wished to exercise authority over him, emphatically exclaimed, "that the heretic was Latin, and that the heresy being better known in the Latin parts, ought to be discussed before Latin judges."*

As Pelagius and Celestius were closely linked together, and their errors identical, there can be no doubt that they had drawn them from the same source. Now Celestius acknowledged, at the council of Carthage, that he had himself heard the doctrine of original sin denied by Ruffinus.† This person had been under the tuition of Evagrius Ponticus, the Hyperborean, author of a metaphysical work, which held forth the impeccability of man. He had also translated into Latin many of the treatises of Origen, who had very high notions of the doctrine of free agency.‡ We may therefore conclude that it was the opinions of these men which, in another form, Pelagius more immediately adopted. Hence we find that he was treated with greater leniency in the East, where Origen and Ruffinus had many admirers, than by the clergy of the Latin Church. Still, acquaintance with Bardic theology might have predisposed him in favour of his new creed, as we presume was the case with many of his countrymen afterwards.

Further, that Druidism was not necessarily the basis of the heresy of Pelagius, appears from this,—that he denied the doctrine of the preexistence of souls. "We do also," says he, "condemn those who say that the souls have sinned in a former state, or that they have lived in the celestial regions before they were sent into bodies."§

* Oros. *Apologetic.* p. 624, 625.

† Augustin. *de Peccat. Original.* cap. iii. and iv.

‡ See *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. pp. 88, 89.

§ *Ibid.* p. 114.

Some of the warmest antagonists of Pelagianism were Bards,—as Cattwg and Deiniol Wynn;* the latter of whom was very active and successful in his endeavours to suppress it at the synod of Brevi. We may infer from this circumstance also, that it was no attachment to the memory or tenets of the heresiarch which had prompted the family of Pabo to restore the college of Iscoed.†

The heresy of Pelagius had probably no fixed or uniform consistency; at least his disciples did not universally believe and practise what he himself taught. Thus, whilst he denied the preexistence of souls, many held that doctrine.‡ Again, Pelagius condemned wealth and gay attire,§ whereas his partizans at the council of Verulam, as they are described by Constantius, were “conspicui divitiis, veste fulgentes.”|| There was also a milder form under which the new doctrines appeared, which has hence been denominated Semipelagianism. This is said to have prevailed to a considerable extent among the clergy of Gaul, of whom were Hilary, bishop of Arles, and Vincentius Lirinensis, the supposed brother of Bleiddian.¶ Two British bishops have been likewise charged with it, namely, Fastidius and Faustus. The former is described by Gennadius as “Britannorum,” or according to another reading, “Britanniarum Episcopus;” from whence it has been inferred that he was archbishop of London.** But it is much more probable that he was archbishop of Llandaf, which then ranked as the first see in the island. And it is remarkable that, according to Iolo Morganwg’s list, a person named Festydd did actually fill this see at the very time

* Triad 98.

† It will be recollected that Deiniol was the son of Dunawd, and had assisted him in establishing the monastery of Iscoed.

‡ Horæ Britannicæ, vol. ii. p. 114.

§ Hilar. Epist. 88 inter Augustianas. Hierom. adv. Pelag. lib. i. cap. 9.

|| Constant. lib. i. cap. 23.

¶ It is observable, that Hilary of Arles was intimately acquainted with Garmon, and that Bleiddian had married Hilary’s sister, and that, moreover, he was of the same society with Vincentius, besides being, as is supposed, his brother: so that there is every reason to believe that the anti-Pelagian champions had no extreme views on the subject of predestination.

** See Usher, p. 171, and Stillingfleet, p. 194.

that Fastidius is reported to have lived.* Faustus was doubtless none other than the son of Gwrtheyrn of that name, who, according to Nennius, built a large place on the bank of the river Renis.† As his Welsh name is unknown, it has been conjectured that he was moreover identical with Edeyrn, the founder of the college of Llanedeyrn, and that the Rhymni, which passes by that place, is the Renis.‡ He crossed over into Gaul, and was there made abbot of Lerins, and subsequently bishop of Riez.§

But many were probably accused of Semipelagianism merely because they could not altogether assent to the doctrine of Augustine, or because they opposed the ill consequences which some persons drew from that doctrine. The Gallican clergy evidently disclaimed all sympathy with the proper heresy of Pelagius, when they commissioned two of their number to endeavour to arrest its progress in Britain. Nor, perhaps, on examination, will the sentiments of the Britons just mentioned appear less attached to the catholic truth. Indeed the first to bring the charge of heterodoxy against Fastidius, was Cardinal Norris,|| a writer of the school of Augustine, who says that he discovered some tincture of Pelagianism in his book *De vitâ Christianâ*.¶ Whereas Gennadius declares of the production in question,** that its “doctrine was very sound and good;” with whom bishop Stillingfleet agrees.†† Moreover, Trithemius highly commends Fastidius as “a man of great wit and eloquence, an excellent preacher, and a very pious man.”‡‡ With respect to Faustus, he was of such esteem among the Gallican clergy, that in the council of Arles they selected him as the fittest person to draw up their sentiments on the subjects of predestination and grace, which were then so much agitated. Accord-

* See the list quoted at page 201 of the present work.

† Nennius calls him *Faustus Sanctus*.

‡ Notes to Gunn's Nennius. Usher, p. 1002. Rees's Essay, &c., p. 186.

§ Usher, cap. xiii. Stillingfleet, chap. iv.

|| Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 196.

¶ Hen. de Norris, *Hist. Pelag. lib. i. cap. 19*.

** Called by him “*De vitâ beatâ*.”

†† Stillingfleet, p. 196.

‡‡ *Trith. de Script.*

ingly, he wrote his books of grace and free-will, to which another council at Lyons caused some things to be added. It was in those books, as it is supposed, that he broached the errors which are laid at his door. Nevertheless, his reputation was not yet diminished; on the contrary, it is the confession of Norris himself, that he was worshipped as a saint in the church of Riez, and his name was preserved in the calendar of the Gallican church. Molanus was the first who ventured to strike it out; and Baronius followed him, but restored it upon admonition. It cannot, however, be denied, that his books were severely censured after his death, by the Scythian monks at Constantinople, and the African bishops who were exiles in Sardinia. Afterwards, Cæsaries, bishop of Arles, wrote against his doctrine, and was chiefly instrumental in procuring its condemnation at the second council of Orange.*

4. TIMOTHEANISM.

It is asserted by Bale and Camden, that one Timotheus, about A.D. 428, preached among the Britons "the conversion of the Godhead into flesh" in the person of our blessed Saviour. But archbishop Usher thinks that they were misled on the subject by a copy of the chronicle of Sigebert, in which the word "Britannia" occurs, instead of "Bithynia," as it is in an improved version, edited by Aubertus Miræus. The latter reading is also confirmed by another document, which is ascribed to Gennadius.†

If we look to the compositions of the early Bards, who may be considered as witnesses to the faith of Britain, and especially Taliesin, who was educated in the school of Cattwg, we shall find sentiments and expressions fundamentally subversive of the heresies of the Cerinthians, Carpocratians, Ebionites, Elxaites, Valentinians, Theodotians, Sabellians, and Nestorians. Of the latter in particular we may remark, that it would have found no favour in this country, for the Bards seem to delight in calling the Second Person in the Trinity "Mab Mair," or the Son of Mary.

* See Stillingfleet, p. 198, &c.

† Usher, p. 172.

CHAPTER XVI.

RELATION TO OTHER CHURCHES.

“Endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.”—
Ephesians iv. 3.

THE Church of Britain was in communion with the Greek and Roman Churches at a very early stage of its history, as may be inferred from the visit of the missionaries in the reign of Cyllin.* Yet, its incorporation with Bardism, whilst the same united it to the civil state, rendered it, at the same time, necessarily independent of all foreign jurisdiction. And both these positions are distinctly admitted in the letter which Eleutherius sent to Lles ab Coel.†

These rights were secured to it by the council of Arles, A.D. 314, which decreed “that no bishop should trample upon another,” or invade his diocese. This appears to be the only foreign synod in which the Cymry were ever represented, and it took place very seasonably, before the Bardic system was broken up, and before the bishop of Rome began to claim supremacy over Western Christendom.‡ We must remember

* See p. 63.

† P. 67.

‡ The jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, at the time when the council of Nice was held, was limited to the suburbicarian provinces in Italy and Sicily. See Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Diss. i. § 14; Stillingfleet's *Origines Brit.* c. 3; Bingham's *Antiquities*, book ix. ch. i. § 9, &c. Palmer's *Origines Liturg.* vol. ii. p. 259; Hammond's *Œcumenical Councils*, p. 25.

that it was convened by the emperor, and that the canons were passed by its own authority (*communi concilio*), without the aid or consent of the pope, to whom they were afterwards forwarded for the purpose of being, not confirmed, but promulgated in his larger diocese.*

Accordingly, the Cymry maintained their ecclesiastical independence entire for several centuries afterwards. Indeed, all intercourse whatever with the Church of Rome seems to have ceased from about this period until the arrival of Augustine the monk. There are, it is true, those who would make contrary statements, but with what amount of probability, will be seen on a little examination. In the first place, then, the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis is adduced, who says that the pope confirmed the canons of Dewi's synods.† But whence did Giraldus derive his information? He confesses himself, that there was no monument of those synods extant; and surely his mere assertion, unsupported by any concurrent evidence, and made, too, at a time when he had a cause depending in the court of Rome about the see of St. David's, can be of very little weight on the subject. Moreover, the pope's interference would ill accord with the sentiments and wishes of Dewi, who had evidently shewn his partiality for the oriental Church in receiving consecration from the patriarch of Jerusalem.

Again, subjection to the Roman see has been inferred from the instance of Cyndeyrn, who is said to have gone to Rome for the express purpose of having the defects of his native ordination supplied.‡ This circumstance, be it observed, rests on the sole authority of a legend of the twelfth century. But, were it correct, it would rather strengthen our position than otherwise, proving the Scots and Britons to have usages of their own, at

* "Quæ decrevimus communi concilio, charitati tuæ significamus, ut omnes sciant quid in futurum observare debeant."—*Synodical Epistle*, sent to the Pope.

† Giraldus apud Usher, p. 253. It may be here remarked that the other legends of Dewi's life say not a word of this.

‡ He was originally ordained by an Irish bishop.

variance with those of Rome. How far the Cymry complied with the alleged recommendation of Cyndeyrn on his death-bed, that they should adopt "the customs of the Roman Church," may be learned from the declaration of Augustine at a subsequent period:—"In many things ye act contrary to our custom, and even to that of the universal Church." After all, the drift of the story seems to attribute these deeds to him as bishop of Glasgow, which would leave the province of Cymru totally unaffected by the question at issue.*

The next argument in favour of the papal supremacy, is, that Ninian, who converted the Southern Piets, had learned the Christian doctrine at Rome;† but, as he was not a member of the Cambrian Church, we may here dismiss his case without further explanation.

Further, two passages out of Gildas are cited; where he accuses the British clergy of occupying the seat of the apostle Peter with unclean feet, and of repairing across the seas to compass their simoniacal ends. That Gildas, however, means no more by St. Peter's chair than the ecclesiastical function in general, is clear from his opposing to it the chair of Judas, into which, he says, the clergy, by the demerit of their covetousness, should fall; and also from the following expressions:—"To the true priest it is [equally] said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church;'"—"To Peter and his successors, the Lord says, 'And to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' and likewise to every holy priest it is promised, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be also bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be also loosed in heaven.'"‡ Of similar import may be regarded what is said in *Liber Landavensis* of the monastery of Illtyd, that "They had in it, out of reverence, bishops to sit in the chair of St.

* Britan. Eccles. Antiq. p. 358.

† That Ninian did not express the sense of the native Church, is clearly indicated by Bede, who says that he erected Candida Casa or Whithern of stone, "contrary to the usual custom of the Britons."

‡ Gild. sect. 66, 67, 109.

Peter, when they assembled together.”* In reference to the second proposition, suffice it to observe that there is no mention of Rome, and that the Britons had intercourse with other places beyond the sea.

It will now be confessed, that the preceding arguments are of very little weight, compared with the undoubted acts and words of Augustine, Laurentius, and Aldhelm. Having already noticed the evidence which the histories of the former two present on the subject,† we will here insert an extract from the epistle which Aldhelm wrote to Geraint (Geruntius), king of Cornwall, A.D. 692 :—

“But, besides these enormities (the Tonsure and Paschal cycle), there is another thing wherein they do notoriously swerve from the Catholic faith and evangelical tradition, which is, that the priests of the Demetæ, or South-west Wales, inhabiting beyond the bay of Severn, puffed up with a conceit of their own purity, do exceedingly abhor communion with us, insomuch as they will neither join in prayers with us in the Church, nor enter into society with us at the table. Yea, moreover, the fragments which we leave after refection they will not touch, but cast them to be devoured by dogs and unclean swine. The cups, also, in which we have drunk they will not make use of, till they have rubbed and cleansed them with sand or ashes. They refuse all civil salutations, or to give us the kiss of pious fraternity, contrary to the Apostle’s precept, ‘Salute one another with a holy kiss.’ They will not afford us water and a towel for our hands, nor a vessel to wash our feet. Whereas our Saviour, having girt himself with a towel, washed his disciples’ feet, and left us a pattern to imitate, saying, ‘As I have done to you, so do you

* Liber Land. p. 298.

† Chap. vi. The fact that the Cymry retained the old Asiatic Easter would prove that they were not in union with the Romanists since the council of Nice was held, from which time the latter looked upon its observance as heretical. This is further corroborated by the pertinacity with which Augustine insisted upon the adoption of the Romish cycle in his conference with the Cambrian bishops.

to others.' Moreover, if any of us who are Catholics, do go amongst them to make an abode, they will not vouchsafe to admit us to their fellowship till we be compelled to spend forty days in penance."*

It is impossible to have a stronger proof than the above, that the Cymry were not in communion with the Roman Church, and that their separation was the effect of choice, and not an involuntary exclusion.

To these may be added the testimony of a document supposed to be the production of Jonas Mynyw,† a divine and poet, who flourished about the close of the tenth century.

“Woe to the worldly priest,
Who rebukes not vice;
And neglects his ministry:
Nor regards his flock,
Though he be a pastor;
Nor pays attention to them;
Nor guards his sheep
From the Romish wolves,
With his pastoral staff.”‡

But this may imply no more than that there was still a party in Wales possessing strong feelings against the claims of the Romish priesthood. It cannot be denied, that the prejudices of the people in general against Rome had been before greatly unbent through the instrumentality of Elvod, when he filled the see of Bangor. And afterwards this change of sentiment obtained a sort of legal or national sanction at the synod of Ty Gwyn ar Day, as the following particulars in the laws of Hywel Dda testify:—

The absence of a man, who had gone on a pilgrimago to Rome, could be lawfully supplied in a court of justice by his advocate.§

* Cressy, book xix. chap. 17.

† Llyvr Darogan Bodhenlli. According to other authorities, the composition is that of Taliesin, in the sixth century.

‡ Myv. Archaiol. vol. i. p. 99. § Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. iv. sect. 107.

No action might be sustained against an excommunicated person, for whose restoration papal absolution was necessary, within a year and a day from the time he first commenced his journey for the purpose of seeking that indulgence.*

A person, having forfeited his inheritance by plotting against his lord, could recover it on producing letters of pardon from the pope.†

In a case where a surety was to be denied, the judge having laid hold of the relies, adjured one of the parties thus :—‘ May God, the pope of Rome, thy lord, and these relies, preserve thee from falling into perjury in this matter.’‡

On the other hand, a friendly intercourse seems to have been uninterruptedly kept up between the British and Oriental Churches, until about the time when the former submitted to the authority of Rome.§ Indeed, we cannot tell whether the application of *Lleirwg* might not have been somewhat influenced by the Grecian birth of Eleutherius, a circumstance, be it observed, which has been deemed worthy of express mention in the register of Llandaf.||

In the third century, Elen, daughter of Coel Godebrog, visited the Holy Land, and erected a church over our Saviour’s sepulchre, as well as on other sacred spots. We have the testimony of St. Jerome that many Britons travelled to Jerusalem in the fourth century, among whom is mentioned Tecla, the founder of Llandegla, Denbighshire, and Llandegle, Radnorshire.¶ And

* Ib. lib. iv. sect. 107.

† Ib. sect. 264.

‡ Ib. lib. ii. c. 4.

§ Thus the British Church cannot be said to have been in an isolated condition at any time. Until the Nicene era it was in union with both the great bodies of Christendom: afterwards it maintained an intimacy with Greece alone; and when the division of the East and West took place, its partiality was transferred to Rome.

|| Liber Land. p. 306.

¶ See Usher’s Britan. Eccles. Antiq. p. 110, and Rees’s Welsh Saints, Appendix, No. 11. St. Jerome says that she received the name *Tecla* at Jerusalem, on account of her great virtues, particularly her humility. Her former name was Melania.

Theodoret relates that several passed over into Syria, attracted by the fame of Simeon Stylites.* In the beginning of the sixth century the bond of union was drawn still more closely, by the consecration of Dewi, Teilo, and Padarn, in the Holy City. We find that the Cymry adhered to the primitive rule of Asia in reference to Easter, as late as the year 755.† And even A.D. 842-847, some of the clergy repaired to Constantinople to enquire of certain ecclesiastical traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of the paschal festival.‡ And, in the laws of Hywel Dda, a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre is put on the same legal footing as that to Rome.§

To prove, notwithstanding, that the Church of Britain was independent of the sees of Jerusalem and Constantinople, would be wholly unnecessary, since it has never been denied; nor does it appear that any of the Eastern patriarchs ever attempted to extend their authority so far.

The intercourse we have described, was, doubtless, greatly promoted by means of the Church of Gaul, which derived all its usages originally from the see of Lyons. This had been founded by missionaries from Asia; and the second bishop was Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, who was well acquainted with St. John, and stood foremost in the rank of the Quartodecimans of his day.||

There was a communication between the people of Gaul and this island in Druidical times: indeed, a colony from the former country was, at a very early period, established in Britain.¶ Nor were they apparently less intimate after the introduction of Christianity, and during the Roman sway. The Cymry probably derived some of their Oriental customs through this

* Theod. in Philotheo, sive SS. Patrum Hist. cap. 26. Usher, p. 110.

† Annales Menevenses.

‡ Usher's Religion of the Ancient Irish, chap. x. pp. 110, 111.

§ "Tres sunt homines pro quibus absentibus advocatus dari debet: primus est, vir qui peregrinatur Romam vel ad sepulcrum Christi."—Wotton's Leges Walliæ, lib. iv. sect. 107.

|| See Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, sect. 9.

¶ Triad 5.

channel; at least, the Gallic influence would impart a more distinctive character, and greater consistency, to those which they had already received from the Israelitish and Greek missionaries. Truly, it would seem that their veneration for the beloved disciple was suggested subsequently to the foundation of their Church, else "the Gospel of St. John" would not have been adopted after "the Ten Commandments," in their scale of oaths.*

That the British bishops were on terms of communion with the Gallic in the beginning of the fourth century, may be inferred from the meeting at Arles. Bishop Stillingsfleet, indeed, gathers from various authorities, that about this time the prelates of Britain were generally comprehended under those of Gaul where they are not expressly mentioned.†

The reign of Eudav, however, checked the development of the Church of Wales to a certain extent, whilst the other provinces of Britain followed Gaul in the adoption of the decrees of Nice and Sardica. That there was a ritual disagreement between the Cymry and their immediate neighbours, which may be dated from this time, is clearly illustrated by the history of the paschal question. Thus, from what transpired at the conference held at Strennaeshaleh, A.D. 664, we learn that the North Britons observed Easter exactly as it had been determined at Nice:‡ whilst the *Annales Menevenses* indicate that the inhabitants of Wales adhered to the old Asiatic or Jewish mode as late as A.D. 755.§

Yet, the Cymry were not on that account excluded from communion with their neighbours, as the mission of Garmon

* Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 314. See page 196, *note*.

† Origines Britan. p. 135.

‡ *Horæ Britann.* vol. ii. p. 365. Russel's History of the Church in Scotland, vol. i. p. 50.

§ The Churches of Cymru and Northumbria differed also in this respect, that the former had no nunneries, while in the north they were numerous.—Bede's Epist. ad Ecgberetum, Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 310.

and Bleiddian plainly shews. It is true that these prelates were instrumental in improving the condition of the Cambrian Church, and that they introduced into it the Gallic orders. Still, their interference was not of an obtrusive character: on the contrary, they appear to have willingly conformed to the prejudices and customs of the country, as, for instance, in the matter of consecrating the sites of churches.*

In an anonymous book on the origin of ecclesiastical offices, written eleven hundred years ago, it is stated that Garmon and Bleiddian introduced the “ordinem cursus Gallorum,” or Gallican Liturgy into Britain.† This was not, however, the primitive course of Gaul, but the Liturgy of St. Mark, which was brought into that country by Cassian, and being received in the monastery of Lerins, was used by Garmon and Bleiddian. Padrig is said to have chanted the same course among the Scots and British of his jurisdiction.‡ But, as we are informed that the liturgy of Padrig was different from that of Dewi, Gildas, and Cattwg,§ we may reasonably conjecture that it found no favour with the Cymry. The supposition is corroborated by the fact that the inhabitants of Wales resolutely clung to the paschal usage of St. John, even when it was viewed as heretical in almost every other Church throughout Christendom.

So far was their reception of holy orders at the hands of Garmon and Bleiddian from involving a compromise of their ancient prejudices, that, on the contrary, it afforded a lively illustration of them. For thereby they recovered the Oriental line of succession, and obtained an additional treasure from “the beloved disciple.”||

But there was a colony from Wales planted in Gaul about the year 383, which was erected into an independent kingdom under

* Chap. x.

† Usserii Britan. Eccl. Antiq. cap. xi. p. 185; Stillingfleet, Origines Britan. ch. iv.

‡ Britann. Eccl. Antiq. cap. xvii.

§ Ibid. p. 473, 474.

|| See chap. xi.

Cynan Meiriadog.* True to the principles of the mother country, the emigrants also established a Church and a metropolitan see, without the pope's licence. This see was at Dole,† to which city, according to *Liber Landavensis*, the government of all Brittany was observed to belong justly until the time of the compiler.‡ The first archbishop was Samson, the son of Amwn Ddu ab Emyr Llydaw, by Anna, daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig, about the middle of the sixth century. Most of those who ruled the Church in the intermediate period were probably ordained in Wales, whilst some may have been subject to the archbishop of Tours in the country of the Franks, who claimed jurisdiction over Armorica.§ In a council held at Tours, A.D. 567, the bishop of that see was acknowledged to be the metropolitan, and it was decreed that no one should presume to ordain either a Briton or a Roman to the episcopal office in Armorica, without the consent and permission of the metropolitan or the other bishops of the province.|| Nevertheless, the

* P. 88.

† Dole is a town in the department of Isle and Vilaine, and late province of Brittany. It was lately an episcopal see, and is situated in the N.E. portion of Brittany, in a morass five miles from the sea, and twenty-one S.E. of St. Malo.

‡ “Unde principatus totius Britanniae apud Dolum juste constare videtur usque hodie.”—*Lib. Land.* p. 25. The compiler of this work is stated to have been Galfrid or Jeffrey, brother of bishop Urban.

§ “Cum olim tota Britannia (Minor) fuisset Turonensi ecclesiae tanquam metropoli suae subiecta; Britannis tandem conspirantibus contra regem Francorum, et proprium sibi constituentibus regem, occasione Beati Samsonis quondam Eboracensis archiepiscopi, qui dum in partibus Britanniae pateretur exilium, in Dolensi ecclesia cum archiepiscopalibus insignibus ministrarat, Dolensis ecclesia contra Turonensem supercilium elationis assumpsit; Britannis volentibus sibi novum archiepiscopum, sicut novum regem creaverant, suscitare.”—See *Statement of the Clergy of Tours at the time Giraldus demanded the restitution of the pall to Menenia*; cited by Usher from the register of Pope Innocent III, A.D. 1199.

|| “In Turonensis n. hisce temporibus (anno videlicet DLXVII.) habiti canone

bishops of Dole succeeded in maintaining their independence and archiepiscopal authority almost as late as did those of St. David's in Wales.*

The intimacy between the Churches of Cymru and Llydaw was very close, especially in the sixth century, when a mutual emigration of the bishops and clergy into either country was a common practice in cases of domestic emergency. Nor did they then retire to lay communion, but continued to prosecute their ministerial duties, as the examples mentioned in Chapter V abundantly testify. This circumstance would also argue that their respective usages were essentially identical, or that the details in which they differed were not of an unyielding nature.

The northern and south-eastern provinces of Britain deviated in some degree from the rites and customs of the Cambrian Church, in consequence of their having been represented at Nice and Sardica, as well as for other reasons of a more political or civil character. Still this circumstance proved no bar to mutual communion, as may be gathered from the history of Cyndeyrn and many others.

The period at which the Christians of Cymru stood in a position of the greatest estrangement towards their immediate neighbours, may be dated about the dissolution of the Roman power. The Saxon troubles which ensued, creating between them feelings of sympathy and condolence, seem to have drawn them into bonds of closer alliance. And at a later period we find that the Cymry had actually imparted to the others some of their own prejudices,—for instance, preeminent respect for

ix. Metropolitani nomine non alium quam Turonensem archiepiscopum designatum constet; ubi cautum est, nequis Britannum aut Romanum in Armorico, sine metropolitani aut conprovincialium voluntate aut literis, episcopum ordinare præsumat.”—*Usher*, p. 277.

* “Contigit ut ob Pallii gratiam quod Samson illuc attulerat, succedentes ibi Episcopi usque ad nostra hæc fere tempora (quibus prævalente Turonorum Archipræsule, adventitia dignitas evanuit) pallia semper obtinuerunt.”—*Giraldus in Dialogo de Ecclesiâ Menevensi*.

the authority of St. John, and antipathy to the Roman Catholics, as was exemplified at the conference of Strenaschaleh.*

Perhaps the bishopric of Whithern, which had been founded by Ninian, was the nearest in character and feeling to the Church of Rome. But this was afterwards considerably eclipsed by the see of Cyndeyrn at Glasgow.†

In reference to Columba,‡ who is considered as the apostle of the Highlands and islands of Scotland, and the father of the college of Iona and its Culdees, we will subjoin an interesting dialogue, supposed to have passed between him and Merddin Wyllt, son of Madog Morvyrn of Côr Illtyd.§

“Black is thy steed,|| and black thy cap,
Black thy pate, thy head and all. —
Art thou Colum ?

I am Colum the Scholar,
Of Scottish race, and fickle wit. —
Woe to him who drowns not the insulter of his sovereign.

* At this conference, Colman, then bishop of Northumbria, and Chad, bishop of Essex, who conducted the cause of their countrymen, maintained that they had received their Easter traditionally from St. John. Wilfrid, who pleaded for Rome, replied that such could not be the case, as they did not, like that apostle, observe it on the fourteenth day of the moon, whether it fell on the Lord's day or not.

† *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. p. 360.

‡ Colum or Colan. In the poem he is called *Yscolan*, or “the Colan,” the definite particle being prefixed, as we still have *Yr Jesu* (the Jesus). So the modern Scotch have *The Graeme*, *The Bruce*, and *The Wallace*. See *Horæ Britann.* vol. ii. p. 302.

§ *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 132. Aneurin also (ib. p. 16) mentions *Yscolan* :

“True is the saying of Colan,
God proves better than the wicked predicate of him.”

Odes on the Months.

Both Merddin and Aneurin were natives of North Britain.

|| Columba had a *white* horse, which used to carry the milk vessels between his monastery and the fold. See *Horæ Britann.* vol. ii. p. 305.

I burnt a church, and intercepted the kine of a monastery,
And immersed in water the Sacred Book :
Wherefore I suffer a heavy penance.

Creator of all creatures,
Thou supreme supporter,
Blot out for me mine iniquity.

A full year have I been destined to occupy
The post of a wear at Bangor :
Behold thou the pain I have borne from sea animals.

If I had known before what I now do know,
How freely the wind whirls through the lofty branches,
Never would I have committed the deed."

We have before remarked how the people of Llychlyn resorted for instruction to the college of Seiriol in Anglesey.*

The Cymry were likewise on friendly terms with the Irish Christians. The influence and connection of the family of Brychan might have some share in establishing or enlarging this religious intercourse. Dewi was baptized by the bishop of Munster, "who by divine providence had arrived at that time from Ireland." Dewi, Gildas, and Cattwg, according to a very ancient catalogue of the saints of Ireland,† published by archbishop Usher, introduced the ancient British liturgy into the sister isle. Aeddán Voeddog, son of Caw, and disciple of Dewi, passed over thither, and was appointed the first bishop of Ferns. And it has been reasonably inferred that it was a reference to this circumstance which induced the clergy of Menevia at a later period to assert that the bishopric of Ferns was once subject to the archbishopric of St. David's.‡

The Irish were latterly exceedingly averse to communion with the Church of Rome, as may be learned from the following extract of a letter, which was addressed by Laurentius, Mellitus,

* Page 226.

† Probably written in the seventh century. Usher's *Britann. Ecc. Antiq.* pp. 473, 474. Palmer's *Origines Liturg.* vol. i. sect. xi.

‡ Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 228.

and Justus, to the bishops and abbots of Ireland: " We knew the Britons, and hoped to find the Scots better disposed ; but we learned by means of bishop Daganus coming into this island, and Columbanus, the abbot, in Gaul, that they differ in nothing from the Britons in their conversation; for Daganus, the bishop, coming to us, not only would not eat with us, but not even in the same lodging in which we took our meals."*

* Bede, lib. ii. c. iv.

CHAPTER XVII.

LITURGY.

“Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?”—1 Cor. xiv. 16.

HAVING already shown that the Jewish missionaries, Ildid, Cyndav, and Mawan, imparted their influence to the general character of the infant Church of Cymru,* we accordingly presume that its service was essentially identical with what is distinguished as the “Great Oriental Liturgy.” There are even reasons for believing that it was originally derived from Ephesus in particular. In the first place, it appears from St. Paul’s second Epistle to Timothy, that the bishop of Ephesus was personally acquainted with some of the saints of Britain.† Secondly, the fact would forcibly explain the intimacy and similarity which subsisted between the Church of Britain and that of Gaul, since it is satisfactorily proved that the latter derived its liturgy primarily from the exarchate of Ephesus, or of the Churches of Asia and Phrygia.‡ Thirdly, it would in like manner show how easily the judaical tone, indicated by the adoption of the decalogue for the purpose of swearing, would yield during the paschal agitation to the predominance of St. John’s name and memory, whose chair was at Ephesus, and who kept the feast of Easter on the fourteenth day, with the Jews.§ And,

* P. 196. † Compare 2 Tim. iv. 21, with Martial, lib. iv. epigr. 13 and 54.

‡ Palmer’s *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. i. sect. ix.

§ Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, in his Epistle to Victor of Rome, and the Roman Church, says, that “John, who rested on the bosom of the Lord, who

lastly, the submission of Ephesus, A.D. 451, to the patriarch of Constantinople might have been the cause why the British clergy at a subsequent period appealed to the latter see on the subject of Easter.

But whatever may have been the primary liturgy of Britain, whether it was obtained from the East or from Rome, or whether it was compiled by the founders of the native Church themselves, there can be no doubt that it afterwards resembled that of Gaul, as well as of those Asiatic countries where the authority of St. John prevailed. This is evident from the testimony of Irenæus, disciple of Polycarp, and bishop of Lyons;* and also from the practice of the Cymry themselves in respect of Easter.

To illustrate therefore the general character of the Cambrian liturgy, we will here subjoin the order and substance of the liturgy of Gaul, as described by Palmer in his valuable dissertation.

A lesson from the Prophets or Old Testament was first read, then one from the Epistles, which was succeeded by the hymn of the three children, *Benedicite*, and the holy Gospel. After the Gospel was ended, the priest or bishop preached, and the deacon made prayers for the people, and the priest recited a collect, *Post preces*. Then the deacon proclaimed to the catechumens to depart. After which silence was again enjoined, and an address to the people on the subject of the day, and entitled *Præfatio*, was recited by the priest, who then repeated another prayer. The oblations of the people were next received, while the choir sang an offertory anthem. The elements were placed on the altar, and covered with a large and close veil, or pall. Then the tablets called *diptychs*, containing the names of the living and departed saints, were recited, and the priest made a collect, “*post nomina*.” Then followed the salutation

was a priest, and wore the *petalos*, who was a martyr and teacher, and fell asleep at Ephesus; Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna; Thraseas, bishop of Emmania; Sagaris, bishop of Laodicea; the blessed Papirius; Melito, bishop of Sardis; all kept the feast of Easter on the fourteenth day.”—*Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 24.

* *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. cap. iii.

and kiss of peace ; after which the priest read the collect, “ ad pacem.” The mystical liturgy now commenced. It began with the form “ Sursum corda,” &c. ; and then followed the preface, or thanksgiving, called “ contestatio,” or “ immolatio,” in which God’s benefits to the human race were variously commemorated ; and at the proper place the people all joined in singing the hymn, “ *Tersanctus*.” The thanksgiving then continued, in the form called “ post sanctus,” which terminated with the commemoration of our Saviour’s deeds and words at the institution of this sacrament. Afterwards the priest recited a collect, entitled “ post mysterium,” or “ post secreta,” which often contained a verbal oblation of the bread and wine, and an invocation of God to send his holy Spirit to sanctify them into the sacraments of Christ’s body and blood. After this the bread was broken, and the Lord’s Prayer repeated by the priest and people, being introduced and concluded with appropriate prayers, made by the priest alone. The priest or bishop then blessed the people, to which they answered, Amen. Communion afterwards took place, during which a psalm or anthem was sung. The priest repeated a collect of thanksgiving, and the service terminated.*

This may be considered, then, as essentially the liturgy of St. John. Another, ascribed to St. Mark, was also introduced into Gaul, by Cassian, and used, among others, by Garmon and Bleiddian, in their monastery of Lerins. These persons, moreover, brought it over into Britain, but it does not appear to have supplanted the one which already existed among the Cymry, as already observed.† Padrig, however, is said to have chanted it in his own diocese, which is also very probable, seeing he was a disciple of Garmon, as Fiech testifies :—

“ He read the canon (of Scripture) with Germanus ;
And so the Churches (abroad) attest.”‡

We may further remark, that the forms “ Gloria in excelsis,”

* Origines Liturgicæ, vol. i. sect. ix.

† See p. 259.

‡ Hales’s Origin and Purity of the Primitiv Church of the British Isles ; Appendix.

“Tersanctus,” and the Lord’s Prayer,—which, according to the writer of the “Book on the Origin of Ecclesiastical Offices,” alluded to before, St. Mark appointed all the people to sing,*—do also occur in the Irish liturgy, of which Dr. O’Conor has published an account, and which is supposed to have been the one used by Padrig.† That the missal of Padrig differed from that of Dewi, Gildas, and Cattwg, is distinctly stated in another document, apparently as old as the seventh century.‡

What was the amount of similarity, at the period when these latter worthies flourished, between the Gallie and Cambrian liturgies, we are unable to relate. Thus much is evident, that they both differed from the Roman. This appears, in the case of the first, from the interrogations of Augustine the monk to Pope Gregory, where he asks: “Why the customs of Churches are different, when their faith is the same, and one custom of liturgy prevails in the Church of Rome, another in those of Gaul?”§ With regard to the Cambrian, it is proved by the words of Augustine, which he addressed to the native bishops: “In many respects you act in a manner contrary to our customs, and indeed to those of the universal Church; and yet if you will obey me in these three things; to celebrate Easter at the proper time; to perform the office of baptism, in which we are born again to God, according to the custom of the holy Roman and Apostolical Church; and with us to preach the Word of God to the English nation; we will tolerate all your *other customs*, though *contrary to our own*.”||

* “Sed beatus Marcus Evangelista—totam Ægyptum et Italiam taliter prædicavit sicut unam ecclesiam, ut omnes *sanctus*, vel *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, vel *orationem Dominicam* et *Amen*, universi tam viri quam fœminæ decantarent.”—*Tract. de Cant. et cursibus Eccl. Spelman. Concilia*, tom. i. p. 177.

† Origines Liturgicæ, vol. i. sect. xi.

‡ “Incipit Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ, secundum diversa tempora. Primus ordo Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. * * * Secundus ordo Catholicorum Presbyterorum. In hoc enim ordine pauci erant Episcopi, et multi Presbyteri, numero ccc. A Davide Episcopo et Gillà (*al. S. Gildâ*) et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt.”—*Apud Usher*, pp. 473-4.

§ Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 27.

||Ib. lib. ii. c. 2.

We may, however, trace the outlines, or discover vestiges, of the liturgy of Cymru, in the early documents of the country. Some of them we will here subjoin :—

A PRAYER :

Composed by Talhaiarn, the chaplain of Emrys Wledig.

“ God, grant thy protection, and in thy protection strength, and in strength discretion, and in discretion justice, and in justice love, and in love to love God, and in loving God to love all things.”*

THE PATER NOSTER, OR THE WORD OF GOD ABOVE ALL :

Paraphrased by Cattwg Ddoeth.

“ Our Father Almighty, full of truth and mercy,
Who dwellest in the heavens, and art pure and holy,
Thy name be sanctified to the utmost bounds
Of that existence where thy goodness dwells.

“ Thy kingdom come upon us ; and thy will be done
Truly on earth, as it is in heaven.
Give us, day by day, our daily bread,
And may our whole trust be in Thee.

“ And forgive all the children of men,
As we sincerely forgive our bitter enemies.
Defend us mercifully from the temptations of sin,
And from all inclinations to evil, lest they lead us astray ;

“ For Thou, Lord of glory, art the sovereign King,
And thine is the power, and true praise, and all honour.
Be Thou our Protector, and Lawgiver, and Governor,
To endless ages, eternally, for ever and ever. Amen.”†

Taliesin, who was educated in the school of Cattwg,‡ occasionally introduces into his poems certain Latin expressions, which seem clearly to bear a liturgical character. From these, then, we infer that the service in his time contained the “ Kyrie eleison ;” “ Gloria in excelsis ;” prayers apparently beginning

* Dr. Pughe’s Dict. voce *Gweddi*.

† Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 5. Translated by the Rev. Peter Roberts. See Hales’ Origin and Purity, &c., p. 420.

‡ Taliesin must have ranked high, and been considered a correct scholar in that establishment, as we may well infer from the documents which we have cited in reference thereto. See pp. 219, 221.

with "Rex regum," "Benedicite Domine," "Miserere mei, Deus;" a hymn, "Laudatum laudate Jesum;" and portions of the Old and New Testament. In the holy communion the priest *blessed* the elements, though their consecration was mainly attributed to the words of institution.*

The Creed and the Lord's Prayer seem to have occupied a prominent position in the Welsh liturgy. It was an usual saying of Beuno:—

"Chant thy Pater noster and thy creed."†

So, an early bard:—

"I enquired of all the Priests,
The Bishops and Judges,—
What is most profitable for the soul.

"Food [for the needy],—the Pater noster, and the blessed creed;
Whoever will chant these for his soul,
Until the judgment will do the very best thing."‡

And in another poem the writer says:—

"Thou didst not chant thy Pater noster,
Either at Matins or Vespers."§

And he speaks, moreover, of

"Three seven Paters daily."||

We learn from the laws of Hywel Dda that it was usual in the tenth century to chant the Lord's Prayer, for the souls of all Christians, at the gate of the churchyard. It was also chanted at the church-door, before the figure of the cross.¶

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. pp. 17, &c. It may be proper to state that the Latin of the Bard is in general very barbarous. Some words have Welsh terminations, others seem perverted for the sake of the rhyme, and no doubt in some instances the chief blame must be attributed to transcribers.

† Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 173. The creed was never so much as barely repeated in the Roman Church, in time of divine service, until A.D. 1014. See Bingham, book 14, ch. 2, sect. 8.

‡ Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 185.

§ Ibid. p. 183.

|| Ibid.

¶ "Tria loca sunt ubi nemo juramentum voluntarium præstare tenetur: 1. Primum est, &c. 2. Secundum est, At portam cæmeterii, quia ibi oratio

From the same laws we, moreover, know that there was a hymn, called "Benedicamus," which occurred somewhere before the distribution of the bread in the Eucharistic office.*

It is probable that the legends of saints were recited occasionally, in the course of public worship. Thus, one of the books which were found amidst the ruins of Verulam, in the tenth century, contained the "History of St. Alban," written in the ancient British character and dialect. And this history, we are informed, was the same in every respect with that which is mentioned by Bede, and which was read in the churches of England.† The title prefixed to the life of Dyvrig, in "Liber Landavensis,"‡ "Lectiones de Vitâ Sancti Dubricii," would intimate further that such legends were read in detached portions.

It is difficult to ascertain in what language the primitive liturgy of Cymru was performed, or what alterations it afterwards underwent in that respect. To suppose that it was at first composed in the dialect of the country would best accord with the requirements of the Bardic College, as well as with the statement of St. Chrysostom: "Although thou didst go to the ocean, even to the noted British isles; although thou didst sail to the Euxine Sea; although thou didst go to the southern regions; thou wouldst hear all, everywhere, reasoning about subjects of Scripture, with different voice, indeed, but not with different faith; with different tongue, indeed, but with accordant understanding."§ We may add the testimony of Bede: "It searches and professes one and the same knowledge of the highest truth, and of real sublimity, by meditation of the Scriptures; as well in the vulgar tongues of the English, Britons, Scots, Picts, as in the Latin language common to them all."||

Dominica debet cantari pro animabus omnium Christianorum. 3. Tertius est, Ad ostium ecclesiæ, quoniam ibi orationem Dominicam homo cantare teneatur coram cruce."—*Wotton's Leges Wallicæ*, lib. iv. sect. clxiv.

* Ib. lib. ii. cap. iv.

† Usher's *Britan. Eccl. Antiq.* p. 80. See also p. 79 of the present work, and Hughes's *Horæ Britannicæ*, vol. ii. Appendix, No. 1. ‡ P. 75.

§ Chrysost. in *Serm. de utilitate lectionis Script.* tom. viii. p. 3. Edit. Savill.

|| Bed. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. cap. 1.

Yet these declarations may refer merely to the canon of Scripture, and the latter would not preclude the Latin language even from that. It is remarkable, however, that in the compositions of Taliesin, Scriptural quotations, and what appear to be liturgical sentences, are almost invariably expressed in Latin. "Pater," and "Credo," were afterwards the names which were commonly given to the Lord's Prayer and Creed, as they are retained in the principality even to this day.

Perhaps we should not be far from the truth, were we to say that the Cambrian liturgy assumed its foreign garb about the time when the Church shook off its alliance with bardism; and that even then the vernacular character of its exhortations, homilies, and the like, was not abandoned. In the books which were discovered at Verulam, there were some things written in Latin, but the "History of St. Alban," as we have seen, was in the ancient British language.*

* Usher, p. 80.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CANONICAL HOURS.

“Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour.”—Acts iii. 1.

IN the principal monasteries, though the public worship of God was carried on day and night without intermission, yet its distinctive periods may be said to coincide with the twenty-four hours respectively, since on each of them a fresh class of ministers officiated.* The expressions of Bede and the British chronicles would lead us to infer that in Bangor Iseoed the seasons of prayer were divided into seven.† In the heading of a dialogue between Llywelyn, the founder of Trallwng monastery, and his son Gwrnerth, the composition of which is attributed to Tyssilio, it is affirmed that they used “to come together the last three hours of the night, and the first three hours of the day, and say their matins and the hours of the day for that time.”‡ And in

* See page 211.

† “Tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut cum in *septem* portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant.”—*Bed.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

“In this monastery, it is said, the number of the monks was such, that if it had been divided into seven parts, there would be three hundred in each part, without their priors and officers.”—*Brut. B.* “Besides their priors and prelates who were set over them.”—*Brut. G. ab Arthur.* “In it, without reckoning either the priors or officers, there were twenty-one hundred.”—*Brut. Tyssilio.*

‡ Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 162.

the poem itself, in answer to a question of Gwrnerth whether his father was asleep, the latter is made to say,—

“Nay, but I chant the hours.”

But we do not find the hours or seasons of prayer called, in the early poems, by any distinctive names, with the exception of those of midnight, matins, and vespers. Both Mengant and Elaeth speak of one or another of these latter in connexion with religious duties.* So in the anonymous poem before mentioned:—

“Thou didst not chant thy Pater noster,
Either at Matins or Vespers.”†

And in another:—

“If they will arise at Matins, and at midnight
Awake and join the Saints,
Every Christian will obtain forgiveness.”‡

Also in a composition, attributed by some to Taliesin, but by others to Geraint Vardd Glas, about the close of the ninth century, we find the following sentence:—

“Pervading principle giving power to the sky,
Thou also art satisfaction for our transgression,
At midnight and matins.”§

In Hywel Dda's time, the principal services of the Church seem to have been those of morning and evening, which were respectively denominated mass and vespers. Mention is moreover made of sun-rise as apparently an hour of prayer.||

* Ib. pp. 160, 162.

† Ib. p. 183.

‡ Ib. p. 185.

§ Ib. p. 66. Dr. Pughe's Dict. *roce coredd*.

|| Leges Wallicæ, lib. ii. c. 4.

CHAPTER XIX.

MUSIC.

“ Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom ; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.”—Colossians iii. 16.

THE Cymry have always been a musical people ; it is therefore probable that they would pay peculiar attention to the sublime art of singing as an ingredient of their public worship. Accordingly we read in Taliesin,—

“ He is not a talented minstrel,
Who praises not the Creator ;
He is not an accurate songster,
Who praises not the Father.”*

Singing to the praise and glory of God was enjoined in the Welsh laws, as the primary duty of the presiding bard, thus :—
“ When a song is desired to be sung, it is the duty of the presiding bard to begin with the first song addressed to God, and the second to the king to whom the court belongs ; but if there be none to him that sings, let him make mention of another king. After the presiding bard, the domestic bard is to compose the third piece on a different subject.”†

Several compositions, which appear to have been of the former kind, are inserted in the Myvyrian Archæology under the titles of “ Songs, or Odes to God.”‡

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 23.

† Dr. Pughe's Dict. *sub voce* Bardd.

‡ Also several of the songs, which were sung in honour of the king, may be

From several extracts in the foregoing chapters it is inferred that the service, including the prayers and creed, was always choral in the ancient British Church. It is remarkable, moreover, that there is but one word for chanting and singing in Welsh,* which circumstance, when we duly consider the excellence of our old music, would make it evident that the chanting was something more than mere intonation.

It is almost impossible that the Cymry should avoid falling into something like counterpoint when they had to use both hands and ten fingers in playing the harp. In fact, a third, a fifth, or a chord, are more easily struck on this instrument, than a single note, because the strings lie convenient and natural for the hand. Accordingly Giraldus Cambrensis bears the following testimony:—"In their musical concerts they do not sing in unison like the inhabitants of other countries, but in many separate parts; so that in a company of singers, which one frequently meets with in Wales, we hear as many parts and voices as there are performers, who all at length unite with organic melody in one consonance in the soft sweetness of B flat." "Singing a song in four parts with accentuation" was one of the twenty-four games, which are said to have been instituted in the time of Arthur.†

In the "Myvyrian Archaiology" are inserted the titles of ancient Welsh tunes, of which we select the following, as having, in all probability, been composed by those whose names they bear, and been used in the public worship of God:—The choir of Alun, the psalm of Gwgan, the song of Padarn,* the choir of Elvyw, the choir of Elvan, the choir of Delvi, the choir of Cilic, the choir of Meili, the choir of Elvaen, the choir

seen under the titles, *Panegyric*, *Reconciliation*, &c. And probably Cynddelw expressly refers to the third class, when he says,—

"May God pour upon me a truly gifted genius,
An excellent ode, *different*, wise, and perfect."

* Viz. Canu.

† Giraldus, by Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart.

‡ Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 196.

§ Padarn is said to have excelled in singing when he visited Jerusalem, and to have received a present on that account. See p. 133.

of Elfin, the song of Beuno, the song of Gwenvrewi, and the choir of St. Silin. To these may be added, as ancient and sacred, the strain of the saint, the gift of Jesus, and the Lay of David the prophet.*

The musical notation of some of these tunes is also inserted, but as a great part of it consists of Bardic and other strange characters, no good transcript can here be made from want of type. The following, however, which is chiefly composed of small italic letters, may serve as an imperfect specimen.

THE LAY OF PROPHET DAVID.

\bar{e} \bar{c} \bar{g}	d	\bar{e} \bar{c} \bar{g}	\bar{d}	\bar{e} \bar{c} \bar{g}	\bar{d}	\bar{e} \bar{c} \bar{g}	\bar{d} \bar{c} \bar{g}	\bar{d} \bar{c} \bar{g}	Finger.	
$\overset{''}{g}$ \bar{f} \bar{e}	\bar{f} \bar{e}	g	\bar{f}	\bar{e}	$\overset{''}{f}$ \bar{e} \bar{d}	$\overset{'}{c}$ \bar{d}	\bar{f}	\bar{e}	\bar{d}	$\overset{'}{d}$ \bar{c} \bar{e} \bar{d} \bar{c}
e' c' g' cc					d' g'	d' g'				
$\overset{'}{c}$ \bar{b}	\bar{d}	\bar{c}	\bar{g}	\bar{c}	\bar{g}	\bar{c}	\bar{c}	\bar{g}	\bar{c}	Finger.

* The manuscripts are preserved in the Welsh School in London. In reference to that in which the music of the "Lay of the prophet David" occurs, the editors of the "Archæology" state that it was "transcribed by a harper of the name of Robert ab Huw, of Bodwigan, in Anglesea, in the time of Charles I, from the original by W. Penllyn, a harper who lived in the reign of Henry VIII." Some of the names of the tunes above-mentioned are taken out of the "Book of Gruffydd Hiraethog, 1522."

As these different airs are composed and arranged with reference to the harp, we may naturally presume that the aid of that instrument was generally used in the performance of psalmody in the churches of Wales.*

* "On the Staffordshire Clogg, or ancient perpetual Almanack, there are hieroglyphics to express the festival days; from the first of March a harp is the symbol, showing the feast of St. David, who used to praise God on that instrument."—*Jones's Relics of the Welsh Bards*, vol. i. p. 113; *Plot's Hist. of Staffordshire*, ch. x.

CHAPTER XX.

BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

“Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”—Matthew xxviii. 19.

“He took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you : this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.”—Luke xxii. 19, 20.

THERE can be no doubt that the performance of baptism in Britain was always “well done and according unto due order” in regard to the minister, matter, and words. Nor is it probable that the children of believers were ever excluded from the benefit of this holy sacrament. Indeed, the decree of Cyllin, which authorized the imposition of names in infancy, can hardly refer to any other circumstance.* And had not Pelagius been fully persuaded of the antiquity and universality of infant baptism, he would doubtless have gladly availed himself of its non-performance in any part of Christendom to support his theory about the liberty of human nature ; whereas, on the contrary, he distinctly admits the practice, though his endeavour to account for its necessity is exceedingly lame and unsatisfactory.†

We infer from what is related of Garmon and Bleiddian,

* P. 64.

† In the Confession of Faith sent by him to Innocentius, bishop of Rome, he says: “We hold one baptism, which we say ought to be administered with the same sacramental words to infants as it is to elder persons.” And Celestius, in his draught of faith, gives this reason why he grants that infants are baptized for forgiveness of sins: “That we may not seem to make two sorts of baptism.”

when they were over in Britain, that the adult catechumens usually prepared themselves for baptism during the penitential season of Lent.*

It is probable that, before the erection of churches, baptism was usually administered in rivers or wells. Thus we still recognize "the well of Elian," "the well of Cynhaval," and many more, within the precincts of those parishes where the saints officiated, in which they might have washed some of their disciples for the remission of their sins.

Fonts may be regarded as necessary appendages of Christian churches. The name "*Bedyddvaen*" (*baptismal stone*), indicates the material of which they were originally made in Wales. Something further concerning their form and general appearance may perhaps be gathered from the ancient font of Peranzabuloe, which is still preserved. This is of stone, octagonal, having a central shaft of the same form, and four round corner shafts reaching half way up the bowl without capitals, but with round mouldings at the base. Four alternate sides of the bowl are panelled, bearing figures, very boldly, but rudely, executed, all in a sitting posture, and clothed in long robes. Its height is three feet three inches and a half; depth of bowl one foot four inches; diameter across the top, two feet three inches and a half; and depth of interior, nine inches and a half.†

Sponsors were required, but they were not considered to contract any affinity to their charge by the act of standing.‡

In the time of Augustine, the churches of Rome and Britain differed from each other in their mode of administering the sacrament of baptism. In what the difference consisted we are not told, but it was regarded at the time of such vital importance as to warrant a formal and continued estrangement between the two societies.§

* Constant. lib. i. cap. 28.

† Van Voorst's *Baptismal Fonts*. In that work, however, the above is styled a Norman font: but Collins in his account of Peranzabuloe, speaks of it as the original font of that church.

‡ Collectanea Cambrica, p. 178.

§ Bed. lib. ii. c. 2.

It is intimated in the laws of Hywel Dda, that no person could be legally examined on any subject before baptism, because until then he had no name to which to answer.* According to the same laws, likewise, the baptized alone were entitled to plight their troth for the ratification of certain bargains and contracts. This privilege was extended even to children of seven years and upwards, if they had passed under the hands of their spiritual pastor.† By the ceremony here mentioned, a person was said to take upon him the yoke of God; and though its full meaning is not explained, it appears to be a sort of confirmation after an oriental fashion. In the patriarchate of Constantinople, and all the eastern Churches, presbyters have, from time immemorial, been permitted to confirm; though confirmation is there administered at an earlier stage of life, even to infants immediately after baptism.‡ The Welsh term for confirmation, however, which is “Bedydd Esgob” (*bishop’s baptism*), would imply, that it was always performed by a bishop, and that it was considered a completion of baptism.§

In order to establish the legitimacy of a child, it was necessary that his mother should bring him to the church where the burial-place of his father was, and there, with her right hand on the altar and relics, and the left on his head, swear accordingly, first by God, then by the altar and relics, and lastly by the *baptism* of the child.||

Sometimes the mind of the Church, at a former period, may be collected from existing superstitions. And here we may remark, that it is still considered “unlucky” by many persons in the Principality, for more than one infant to be baptized in the same water. This feeling seems to militate against the Roman rite, which appoints the water to be changed, and new

* Wotton’s *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. c. 30.

† Ibid.

‡ Origines *Liturgicæ*, vol. ii. p. 199.

§ Giraldus Cambrensis says, that the whole people of Wales were more eager to obtain episcopal confirmation, and the chrism, by which the spirit was given, than any other nation.

|| *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. c. 30.

water to be consecrated, only when that which has been in the font becomes unfit for use; whilst, on the contrary, it is supported by the ancient and immemorial practice of the Churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and the other eastern Churches.*

We may further observe, as indicative of the value in which this sacrament was formerly held by the ancient Britons, that in their writings they almost invariably use the expression, "baptized," or, "of baptism," to denote a Christian or a believer.

Concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist, we can collect a few hints and observations from Taliesin and Merddin Wyllt, in the sixth century. The following stanzas refer both to the original substance of the elements, and the means by which they were thought to be consecrated. They seem also to imply communion in both kinds.

"Of the wheat of blessed privilege,
And the ruddy wine of free privilege,
Is made the skilful body
Of Christ the Son of Alpha.

"The wafer is the flesh,
And the wine is the blood-flowing,
And the words of the Trinity
Consecrate them."†

From another passage we infer, that the presence of a priest was necessary for the due and effectual celebration of this sacrament :

"He is no priest,
Who does not bless the wafer."‡

A belief, however, seems to have been entertained, that persons, under peculiar circumstances, might receive the benefits of Christ's death, without partaking of the outward elements in the Supper.§ Thus Merddin ;—

* Origines Liturgicæ, vol. ii. p. 186.

† Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 93.

‡ Ib. p. 23.

§ It appears as if the soldiers of Bangor Iscoed substituted other materials in their emergency for bread and wine. See page 218.

“ I will not receive the communion
 From the excommunicated monks,
 With their togæ on their haunches ;
 May God himself administer the communion to me.”*

The same doctrine has prevailed in the English Church from an early period until the present day, as may be learned from the “Salisbury Manual,” and the Book of Common Prayer.†

We learn from an anecdote, which Adamnanus relates of Columba, that a bishop used to break the sacramental bread after a manner peculiar to himself, different from that of a mere presbyter, at least in the Scottish Church.‡

According to Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh gave to the poor a part of the bread which was served up at the altar.§

As long as the ministers of Christianity officiated within the Druidical circles, they would celebrate the Eucharistic mysteries on the ancient altars, which were of unhewn stones. The early church of Peranzabuloe had “a very neat, but simple, stone altar.”|| The altar which Dewi received in Jerusalem is said to be of unknown materials.* Probably it is the same

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 149.

† “Deinde communicetur infirmus, nisi prius communicatus fuerit, et nisi de vomitu, vel alia irreverentia probabiliter timeatur; in quo casu, dicat sacerdos infirmo: Frater in hoc casu sufficit tibi vera fides, et bona voluntas; tantum crede, et manducasti.” *Man. Sarisb.* fol. 97.

“If a man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood; the curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered upon the cross for him, and shed His blood for his redemption; earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving Him hearty thanks therefore; he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul’s health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his month.” *Communion of the Sick, Rubric.*

‡ “Hunc solus episcopus, episcopali ritu, frange panem.” *Vita Sanc. Colum.* Russell’s *Hist. of the Church in Scotland*, chap. i.

§ See Warrington’s *Hist. of Wales*, p. 117.

|| Collins’s *Peranzabuloe*, p. 28.

¶ *Liber Landavensis*, p. 342.

which Gwynvardd Brycheiniog alludes to in his "Song to Dewi,"* where he says,—

" There was sent for him (it is a pleasure to honour it),
From heaven's fair mansion of blessed guests,
A fair altar."

The same bard says, moreover, that he had seen at St. David's—

" A veil over the altar."

On the altar were candles, as we conjecture, from a curious remark about bees in the laws ;—"Bees derive their origin from Paradise ; and because of the sin of man did they come from thence, and God conferred on them his blessing ; and therefore mass cannot be chanted without their wax."†

It was frequently the custom to swear, to form an agreement or treaty, and to make a grant of property, at the altar, as may be abundantly learned from the "Laws of Hywel Dda," and the "Register of Llandaff."‡

The Holy Eucharist was even administered to the sick and dying. Thus the decease of Cunedda Wledig is emphatically called his "communion."§ Gwenddydd exhorts her brother Merddin :

" For the sake of the best supreme Being,
To receive the communion before death ;"

when he returns the answer already quoted. And one of the circumstances under which, according to the Welsh laws, it was allowable for a person to make use of another's goods without being subjected to a fine, provided he made a suitable compensation to the owner, was that of a sick man, when any one might take the first horse that offered itself, in order to send for the priest, lest he should die without communion.||

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 270.

† Leges Wallicæ, lib. iii. cap. v. sect. 10.

‡ Leges Wallicæ et Liber Landavensis, *passim*.

§ Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 71.

|| Leges Wallicæ, lib. iv. sect. 10.

CHAPTER XXI.

MATRIMONY.

“Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.”—Hebrews xiii. 4.

ACCORDING to the Welsh laws, men and women became independent of parental restraint, and were permitted to marry at fourteen and twelve years of age, respectively.* Sometimes, if not always, the parties were solemnly espoused to each other before marriage; and when that was the case, the woman in the interim went by the name of “the virgin wife.”† The forms and ceremonies used on the occasion are not known, though it is probable, that, in accordance with the usual practice of primitive Christendom, one of them was the bestowal of a ring; for mention is made in Taliesin of a “ringed virgin.”‡ At this time, also, if the woman was a tenant’s daughter, her *amobrwy*, or commutation fee, was paid to the lord of the land; which fee seems to have originated in the assumed right of the lord of being the guardian and disposer of the virginity of the females in his territories.

We are equally ignorant of the various rites which attended the celebration of a marriage. Thus much, however, is certain, that the presence of a clergyman, to confer the blessing of the Church upon the parties, was absolutely necessary; and so

* *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxx.

† *Ib.* lib. v. c. iv. sect. 42.

‡ “Gentle is thy ringed virgin.” *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 28.

marriage is specified as one of the things over which the ecclesiastical, rather than the civil court, had jurisdiction.*

The bride, on the first morning after marriage, might claim her *cowyll*, that is, the settlement which her husband made on her of goods and chattels, adequate to her rank. And when she afterwards made her appearance abroad, her father was bound to pay her *egreddi*, or dowry, to her husband.†

There were three reasons for which a wife might leave her husband, and recover all her property.‡ The same number of reasons is specified for which a man was permitted to beat his wife.§ Nor does it appear that a violation of conjugal faith, or adultery, constituted the sole cause why a man could be legally divorced from his wife.|| Under ordinary circumstances, if a separation took place before the expiration of seven years¶ next after marriage, the husband was bound to restore to his wife her dowry and settlement. But if it happened subsequently to that period, they were to divide the property equally between them, except where the husband was of superior rank, which

* Wotton's Leg. Wall. lib. ii. cap. 28. No allusions to marriage ceremonies occur in the Mabinogion, or Ancient Romances of Wales.

† "Tria sunt quæ puellæ pudorem incutiunt: 1. Primum est, Audire a patre suo se illam viro nuptum dedisse. 2. Secundum est, In lectum cum viro suo primâ vice intrare. 3. Tertium est, In publicum, postquam cum viro concubuerit, primâ vice prodire. Pro primo maritagium (*amobrey*) Domino dabitur. Pro secundo antiphera (*cowyll*) puellæ dabuntur. Pro tertio pater marito dotem (*egreddi*) solvet." Ibid. lib. iv. sect. 61.

‡ "Tres sunt causæ ob quas mulier dotem non amittet, etiamsi virum dereliquerit: 1. Prima est, Si leprosus fuerit. 2. Altera, Si mariti officio fungi non potuerit. 3. Tertia est, Si anhelitum tetrum habuerit." Ibid. sect. 1.

§ "Tres sunt causæ ob quas viro uxorem suam verberare licebit: 1. Si convicium in ejus barbam ingesserit. 2. Si facinus grave contra illum patrauerit [*al.* Si bona ejus quæ non debet, alicui dederit]. 3. Si cum viro alieno concubuerit." Ibid. sect. 5.

|| Ibid. lib. ii. cap. i.

¶ Did the principle of this period influence the conduct of Bleiddian at all, who became an inmate of the monastery of Lerins after he had been married seven years?

entitled him to a larger share. A woman caught in adultery forfeited her dowry, apparently irrespective of the time she had been married.* A man being separated from his wife, might marry another; and then she, from whom he was thus separated, was at liberty to marry also, for no man, it was alleged, ought to have two wives at the same time. In this case, however, it was necessary for him to give his former wife a bill of divorce.†

It would appear from the laws, that married men were allowed to receive holy orders, though the children born to them subsequently were deemed illegitimate, and not entitled to share in the inheritance of their property. The clause on the subject is as follows:—

“There are three sons, who ought not to share land with their brothers born of the same mother and the same father. 1. The first, &c. 2. The second; If a scholar should take a wife given to him by his own kindred, and have a son by her, and afterwards that scholar should be admitted into holy orders, and, being a priest, should have another son by the same wife; the son begotten before the father’s ordination ought not to surrender any part of his paternal inheritance to his brother begotten after the ordination, on this account, because he was had contrary to law.”‡

We may here not inaptly notice the subject of hereditary succession to benefices, which seems to have prevailed to a great extent in Cymru. The following is the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis: “Their churches have almost as many parsons and parties as there are principal families in the parish; the sons, after the death of their fathers, succeed to the ecclesiastical benefices, not by election, but by hereditary

* *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. cap. i.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Al.* “There are three sons who are not entitled by law to a share of their father’s property. 1. The first; the son of a priest born after his father should have received holy orders.—”

Al. “There are three sons who may not possess their father’s estate. 1. The

right possessing and polluting the sanctuary of God.”* In “*Liber Landavensis*,” Bishop Gwgan is said to be, “by hereditary right, abbot of the dignity of the church of St. Cadoc, at Lancarvan.”† We may further remark that in the translation of the “*Elucidarius*,” which was a very popular work among the Welsh in latter times, the original denunciation of the doctrine is entirely omitted.

son of a priest;—the son whom a priest might have after he was ordained priest.” See *Ib.* lib. iv. sect. clxxxviii.

Wotton remarks:—“*Triadem hanc Gulielmus Salesburius typis edidit Wallice et Anglice A.D. 1551, ad probanda matrimonia clericorum esse legitima. Insulse satis; cum disertis verbis illic affirmetur illa esse illegitima. Et hic fuit (ut id obiter notem) unicus paragraphus harum legum ante Excerpta Spelmanniana editus, quæ vir illustrissimus Henricus Spelmannus ex codice MS^{to} viri summi Johannis Seldeni, nunc magni harum literarum Mecenatis Thomæ Saunders Sebright, Baronetti, mendose excipit et publici juris fecit, A.D. 1639, et postea in Tomis Conciliorum Labbeanis edita sunt. Vide tom. x. p. 600.*”

* Description of Wales, book ii. chap. 6.

† Lib. Land. p. 506

CHAPTER XXII.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

“ And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock; and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre.”—Matthew xxvii. 59, 60.

THE Druidical mode of burying the dead, was to enclose them in a *cistvaen*, or a chest made of four stones, with a large horizontal one for a lid or cover. Sometimes the body was placed in it entire; sometimes it was burnt, and the ashes deposited in an urn; but what circumstance suggested the distinction is not known. Over the *cistvaen* was erected a high mound, called either a barrow or cairn, according as the materials of which it was composed might have been earth or stones. These tumuli are generally discovered on the summits of mountains, or near the sacred inclosures of the Druids.

This was the usual mode at the commencement of the Christian era. The following notice, which occurs in one of the “Mabinogion,” or ancient romances of Wales, indicates that the sister of “Blessed Bran,” who first introduced the faith into Britain, was interred after the same fashion: “A square grave was made for Bronwen, daughter of Llyr, on the bank of the river Alaw, and there was she buried.”* The truth of this tradition was lately most clearly and remarkably established. For in the very spot, which also went by the name of the “Isle of Bronwen,” there was found under a *carnedd*, in a *cist* of

* The Mabinogi of Bran Vendidigaid.

coarse flags, an urn of ill-baked earth, about a foot high, placed with its mouth downwards, full of ashes, half calcined fragments of bone, and a skull, which appeared to be that of a female.* This occurred in the year 1813: the urn and its contents were afterwards deposited in the British Museum.

We are further assured from Englynion y Beddau,† that the practice of interring in Cairns and Barrows on hills and plains, continued, more or less, to the sixth century. A few stanzas are subjoined:—

- “ Whose is the tomb on the *mountain* ?
His, who commanded hosts ;
It is the tomb of Teyrnvael Hael ab Hywlydd.
- “ Whose is the tomb on the *side of the hill* ?
Many who know not put the question ;—
It is the tomb of Coel son of Cynvelyn.
- “ Whose is the tomb on yon *declivity* ?
His, whose hand had proved hostile to many ;—
The Bull of Conflict, may he obtain mercy.
- “ Whose is the tomb *under the hill* ?
It is the tomb of a warrior in Cyvysgyn,
The tomb of Cynon son of Clydno Eiddyn.‡
- “ Those three tombs on the *ridge of Celri*,
I am informed by the voice of song,
Are, the tomb of Llinou of awful vengeance,
The tomb of Cynvael, and the tomb of Cynveli.
- “ The tomb of the son of Osrran§ is in Camlan,
After much slaughter ;—
The tomb of Bedwir|| is on the *steep* of Tryvan.

* A full account of the discovery was furnished by Sir R. C. Hoare, who visited the place soon after, and is given in the “Cambro-Briton,” ii. 71.

† Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 79.

‡ A chief of North Britain, and one of the three counselling warriors of Arthur.

§ Osrran was a chieftain who lived about the end of the fifth century.

|| He lived in the former part of the sixth century, and is styled the supreme of the three crowned chiefs of battle.

“ Whose is the tomb on the *great plain* ?
 His, whose hand was proud of the martial blade ;—
 It is the tomb of Beli ab Benlli Gawr.”*

Nor were they all warriors who were thus buried after the establishment of Christianity, as the following stanza will prove :

“ In the tombs on the *beach*, which have but few ornaments,
 Are Sanant, chaste virgin ; Rhun, foremost in the war ;
 Carwen, daughter of Cennyn ; Lledyn, and Llywy.”

The cistvaen was likewise retained to a late period, as may be inferred from the following notice :—

“ The grave of Owain ab Urien is quadrangular,
 Beneath the sword of Llan Morvael ;—
 Rhydderch Hael lies in Abererch.”†

There is here also an allusion to the custom of burying in churches or churchyards. And the same may be corroborated by other stanzas out of the same poem ; as :—

“ The grave of Ceri with the long sword is in the confine of old church,
 In the gravelly cliff ;—
 The Bull of Conflict is in the churchyard of Corbre.

“ Having worn robes of brown, red, and white colour,
 And ridden fine and handsome steeds,
 Owain has his grave in Llanheledd.”

So also Llywarch Hen :—

“ The churches of Bassa are enriched this night,
 Containing the departed remains
 Of the pillar of battle, the heart of the men of Argoed.

“ The churches of Bassa afford space this night,
 To the progeny of Cyndrwyn :—
 The grave-house of fair Cynddylan.”

The bard intimates that wooden coffins were used in his day for the reception of the dead :—

* See p. 108.

† P. 130.

“ My heart how it throbs with misery
 That the black boards should be joined, to inclose
 The fair flesh of Cynddylan, the foremost in a hundred hosts.”*

Taliesin likewise alludes to the same practice:—

“ My bed will be made in gravel, and both my hands will be bound up;
 A pillar of stone will be laid under my head, and a covering of wood
 inclose me.”

It would appear that the relatives of the deceased accompanied him as far as the grave, for Taliesin immediately adds:—

“ My relations will leave me there to be devoured by toads,
 And will rob me of my worldly goods, and cover me with earth.”†

It is not unlikely that the dead were sometimes buried inside of the church. Three skeletons were found under the altar of Peranzabuloe, one of which was thought to be that of Piranus, the patron saint of the church.‡ Taliesin, and the author of “Englynion y Beddau,” speak of the *mynwent* as a burying place. But in the tenth century the proper receptacle of the dead was an inclosure, which encompassed the *mynwent*, and was called *cofflan*, as we have before remarked in chap. x.

In the same era families had their respective places or rights of sepulture, as the laws of Hywel Dda signify. And the same authority informs us further that in certain cases it was necessary to swear over the grave of a person.§

We are not able here to delineate the order and substance of the funeral service which may have been formerly used by the Christians of Cymru.

* Elegy on Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn, a prince of that part of ancient Powys that is comprehended in the vale of Shrewsbury, which town was the place of his residence. He lived about the middle of the sixth century.

† *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 100.

‡ Collins's *Peranzabuloe*, p. 29, and Appendix, No. vi. The feet of the three were turned towards the east, and their skulls were all found deposited between the legs of one which appeared to be a female.

§ *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxx. and cap. iv.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ORDINATION.

“Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.”—John xx. 21.

A FEW hints upon the ordinal of the early Church of Britain, may be gained from Gildas.* We there learn that the lessons were taken from the first and second chapters of the First Epistle of St. Peter. And it is worthy of remark that they are different from those prescribed by the Church of Rome. That part of the first chapter of the Acts which treats of the election of Matthias in the room of Judas, the third chapter of St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy, and a portion of the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew about the confession of Peter, and the security of the Church, are also mentioned as having been read on the day of ordination. But whether they are to be confined to the ordination of priests, or are partly applicable to the ordering of deacons, and the consecration of bishops also, may be a question. The letter of Gildas seems to refer them to one and the same service, if there be no qualification in his remark about the first chapter of the Acts, “audistis *forte* in eodem die.” It may be observed that a portion of the third chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy, formed the Lesson employed in the consecration of a bishop “secundum Gallos,” and also according to the “mos Romanæ ecclesiæ;” and that it has been read as the Epistle in the Church of England for more

* Epist. Gild. sect. 106, &c.

than a thousand years.* Likewise, the passage beginning at the eighth verse of the same chapter is still used as the Epistle in the Anglican office for the ordering of deacons. These circumstances would induce us to believe that Gildas meant to comprehend the three orders of the ministry together, and for that purpose alluded indiscriminately to the different rituals which were used on the occasion of their respective ordinations.

We are further informed, that the candidates for holy orders stood near the altar in church, and that their hands were anointed with consecrated oil.

John of Teignmouth says, that the only ceremonies used in the consecrating of bishops in Britain in the sixth century were the infusion of sacred chrism on their heads, with invocation of the Holy Spirit, benediction, and imposition of hands.†

* Martene, de antiq. eccl. Ritibus, ii. 53, 72. MS. sacramentary of Leofric, bishop of Exeter, in the Bodleian library, fol. 278.

† Johann. Timm. apud Usher, p. 358.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FESTIVALS AND FASTS.

“I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem.”—Acts xviii. 21.

ACCORDING to the Triads,* there were “three principal festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Whit-Sunday,” which were celebrated with demonstrations of great joy, particularly in the “three principal courts of Arthur, at Caerleon upon Usk in Cymru, Celliwig in Cornwall, and Penryn Rhionydd in the north.”

The Cymry prolonged their Christmas festivities for twelve days. Thus Aneurin, in his stanza on the month of December, observes :—

“Merry is the cock, and the owl,
For twelve days, is sprightly,
Because the spoiler of Satan is born.”†

Hector Boethius says of Arthur, that he kept a profane Christmas with his nobles at York, for thirteen days; and that such jollity and feasting at that season had their origin from him.‡ Upon which Buchanan remarks, that the old Saturnalia were renewed, only the days were increased, and Saturn’s name changed to Cæsar’s, for the feast was called *Julia*.§ This attempt to account for the name is preposterous, as is also that which derives it from *Iola*, which in the Gothic language signifies *to make merry*. It so happens, however, that to this

* Tr. 58, first series; iii. third series.

† Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 16.

‡ Hist. Scot. lib. ix. Stillingfleet’s Orig. Britann. p. 342.

§ Buch. l. v. p. 44.

very day, Christmas tide is emphatically styled by the Welsh, *Y Gwyliau*, or “the holidays,” in reference to its length and religious character. And there can be no doubt that this was the name which it originally bore, and which has puzzled so many persons to explain. It seems also as reasonable to suppose that the Saxons in Britain would call December *Giuli* from this circumstance, as from *Giul*, which in Gothic means a “wheel,” or anything “that turns round,” in reference to the sun and the increase of days.*

The feast of Easter was observed by the Cymry on the fourteenth day of the moon of March, the anniversary of the Jewish passover, on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall. This might be expected from their preference of St. John, and it is moreover pretty clearly proved by the following entry in “*Annales Menevensis*,” which seems to record the discontinuance or alteration of the custom.—A.D. 755: “*Pascha commutata apud Britones super diem Dominicam, emendante Elbodo.*”† “Easter was changed to Sunday by the correction of Elvod.” As the Scots, though they differed from the Roman Catholics in their method of calculating the paschal season, yet always celebrated the festival on the Lord’s day,‡ the latter must have alluded to the Cymry, or their party in Ireland,§ when they write to the bishops and abbots of that country: “We have found certain persons of your province, in opposition to the orthodox faith, endeavouring to renew an old heresy, rejecting in a cloudy darkness our Easter, on which Christ was sacrificed, and striving to celebrate it with the Hebrews, on the fourteenth day of the moon.”||

We have already noticed the disturbances which attended the attempt to alter Easter day. Nor does the question seem to

* Bed. de ratione Temp. c. 13. Loccenius, *Antiq. Suec. Goth.* l. i. c. v. Stillingfleet, p. 342.

† No. 836, MSS. Har. Brit. Museum. ‡ Beda, *Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25.*

§ The second order of saints in Ireland, who received their missal from Dewi, Gildas, and Cattwg, are said to have observed Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon after the equinox.—*Usher*, p. 474.

|| Bed. lib. ii. c. 19.

have been finally settled for several years afterwards; for we read in the Greek life of St. Chrysostom, that certain clergy who dwelt in the isles of the ocean, and the utmost borders of the habitable world, repaired to Constantinople, in the days of Methodius, who was patriarch there from the year 842 to 847, to inquire of certain ecclesiastical traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Easter.* As the ancient Britons are here undoubtedly meant, it has been justly inferred that a secret preference of the Greek Church to the Roman, in regard to the right of determining in this particular point, still lurked among them.

Emrys Wledig and Arthur are especially recorded as having held a plenary court in honour of the feast of Whitsuntide.†

According to the laws of Hywel Dda, the twenty-four officers of the royal household were entitled to receive woollen cloth from the king, and linen from the queen, for their wearing apparel, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.‡

A fine was imposed upon whoever slandered a priest whilst ministering in his robes at the altar, on one of the three principal festivals.§

No law proceedings were held at these seasons; that is to say, from Christmas Eve after vespers until New Year's Day after mass, from Easter Eve after sunrise until the Lesser Easter after mass, and from the Eve of Whitsunday after vespers, until Trinity Sunday after mass. ||

In the Welsh laws, mention is made of Holy Thursday or Ascension Day. Also of the feasts of St. Mary, Michael, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist (beheaded), Luke, All Saints, Padrig, Dewi, Teilaw, Curig, Ffraid, and Martin.¶

* Usher's Religion of the Ancient Irish, ch. x. pp. 110, 111.

† Brut. G. ab Arthur.

‡ Wotton's Leges Wallicæ, lib. i. c. ii.

§ Ib. lib. iv. 113, 258.

|| Ib. lib. ii. c. 4.

¶ St. Martin is mentioned in "*Englynion y Clyweid*," (Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 172):

"Hast thou heard the saying of Martin,
A saint who conferred privilege upon the people?
Except God there is no prophet."

In Aneurin's Odes of the Months, under September, we have a reference to the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, thus :—

“ A royal maid is born,
Who has brought us from our grievous bondage.” *

Some of the native saints had festivals appointed to their honour at a very early period ; thus. for instance, we read of King Ina celebrating the feast of Dewi at Bangor about A.D. 690, not a hundred and fifty years after his death.†

We learn from Constantius, that Lent was observed in Wales, as a preparation for baptism and the feast of Easter, at the time when Garmon and Bleiddian were over.‡ Dyvrig corrected the irregularities of Còr Iltyd in the season of Lent.§ Hywel Dda and his council adapted themselves for their rational task at Ty Gwyn ar Daf by a due performance of the Lenten exercises.|| It appears from the laws which were then passed, that the king and queen did some sort of penance in Lent ; for it is there enacted, that their chaplains should have the penitential robes which they respectively wore on the occasion.¶

From a singular coincidence before alluded to,** it would seem that the consecration of ground for the erection of churches usually took place in Lent. Indeed, the time occupied, which was forty days, and the manner adopted, namely, by fasting, if

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 16. It will be observed that this was some centuries before churches began to be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in Cymru. See page 184.

† Powel's Hist. of Cambria, p. 10. If the poem ascribed to Golyddan were genuine, it would prove that, in about a century after the death of Dewi, a belief was current that he was possessed of miraculous powers. Mr. Sharon Turner, however, in his “ Vindication of the Ancient British Poems,” p. 269, supposes the said composition to have been written in the eighth century.

‡ Constant. lib. i. c. 28.

§ Liber Landavensis, p. 326.

|| Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 361.

¶ Leges Wallicæ, lib. i. c. 13. c. 29.

** Page 182.

not suggested by this season, would naturally fix upon it as the most proper and best adapted for the purpose.*

Welsh documents mention, moreover, the "Lent of Mary" and the "Lent of the Apostles," which would seem to correspond with the "Lent of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin" and the "Lent of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul," in the Greek Church.

The following Triad, in reference to Lent and Christmas, is interesting: "Three things with which God is not well pleased; a man not improving his conduct in Lent, not increasing his labour in the harvest, and not bettering his diet at Christmas."†

The Cymry observed every Sunday as a festival; and, according to Gruffydd Maredudd, A.D. 1310 to 1360, the following events were believed to have taken place on that day:—the creation of the angels; the landing of Noah; the deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt; the fall of the manna; the birth of Christ; his baptism; his resurrection; his bringing Adam out of hell; turning the water into wine; and feeding the five thousand with five loaves and two fishes. It was also supposed that the final judgment would happen on the same day.‡

In an aronymous poem of one of the earliest bards, we have the following observations in reference to Sunday.

Quest. "Is it good to have a Sunday service?"

Ans. "If thou canst obtain a Sunday service,
And the grace of God afterwards,
Blessed art thou in consequence."

Q. "What if I am without it?"

A. "If thou be without the words of learning
On a Sunday, when there is no just cause or necessity,
Smile not until the following Sunday."§

* It is said that disciples were instructed in music during the season of Lent.—See *Jones's Relics of the Welsh Bards*, p. 86.

† *Myv. Arch.* vol. iii. p. 133.

‡ *Ib.* vol. i. p. 459.

§ *Ib.* vol. i. p. 178.

They appear also to have had their weekly fast, which was Friday. Thus an early bard :—

“Thou didst sin on a Friday.”*

It was certainly the case in later times :—

“Woe to the glutton who will be tempted to eat on Fridays.”†

Taliesin complains of a disorderly set of poets, who neglected to pay due honour to the days of the church :—

“They will not worship on Sundays and holidays.”‡

We have already seen how Joseph, bishop of Llandaff, A.D. 1030, forbade the performance of any secular employments on such days, and corrected the abuses of the parochial wakes.§

The compositions of the bards, the chronicles, and the laws of Wales, abundantly signify that the Cymry frequently dated occurrences by their fasts and festivals. Sometimes a periodical circumstance imparted its own name to the holiday on or about which it happened. Thus the day of John Baptist beheaded (August 29.) was styled “the feast of John of the swine or wood,” because it was usual at that time of the year to send the pigs to feed upon acorns in the oaken groves.||

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 183.

† Ib. p. 517. A poem by Grufudd ab yr Ynad Coch, A.D. 1260—1300.

‡ Ib. p. 26.

§ Page 161.

|| Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*, Glossar.

JANUARY.		FEBRUARY.	
1	<i>Circumcision.</i> Medwyn, ² Maelerw,	1	Fraid
2	[Gwynodl, Tyvrydog, Machraith	2	<i>Purification of the Blessed Virgin</i>
3	Gwenog	3	Meirion
4		4	
5		5	
6	<i>Epiphany.</i> Merin, Edeyrn, Ulechd	6	
7		7	Illtyd, Angulus, Moses ^a
8		8	
9		9	Einion, Teilo
10		10	
11	Llwchhaiarn	11	Cynog
12		12	
13	Cyndeyrn	13	Dyvnog
14	Beuno ³	14	
15	Lleuddad	15	
16		16	
17		17	
18		18	Edward ⁹
19		19	
20		20	
21		21	
22		22	
23		23	Milburg ¹⁰
24	Cadog ab Brychan, Sophias ⁴	24	<i>St. Matthias the Apostle.</i> Cattwg
25	<i>Conversion of St. Paul.</i> Dwynwen	25	[Ddoeth
26		26	
27	Palladius ⁵	27	
28	Gildas Badonicus ⁶	28	Llibio
29	Gildas ab Caw ⁷		
30	Tybie		
31	Tyssul, Aeddan Voeddog		

MARCH.		APRIL.	
1	Dewi, Senan	1	
2	Gwrthwl	2	
3	Non, Winwaloc ¹¹	3	
4		4	
5	Caron	5	Dervel
6		6	
7	Deiver	7	Bernarch, or Brynach
8	Rhian	8	Dyvan
9		9	
10		10	
11		11	
12		12	
13		13	
14		14	
15	Aristobulus	15	Padarn ¹⁴
16		16	
17	Padrig, Joseph of Arimathea ¹²	17	
18	Edward	18	
19	Cynbryd	19	
20		20	
21		21	Beuno ¹³
22		22	
23		23	Dyvnan
24	Timothens ¹³	24	
25	<i>Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin</i>	25	<i>St. Mark the Evangelist</i>
26		26	
27		27	
28		28	
29	Gwynllyw Vilwr	29	Senan
30		30	Cynwyl, Brioc
31			

MAY.		JUNE.	
1	<i>St. Philip and St. James, Apostles</i>	1	
2		2	Bodvan
3		3	Cwyven
4		4	
5		5	Tudno
6		6	Gudwal
7		7	
8		8	
9	Beatus ¹⁶	9	
10		10	Rhychwyrdd
11		11	<i>St. Barnabas, Apostle</i>
12		12	
13	Mael, Sulien	13	
14		14	Dogvael
15	Padarn ¹⁷	15	Conaid
16	Caranog	16	Trillo, Curig
17	Cathan	17	Myllin
18		18	
19		19	
20	Collen	20	Padarn, ¹⁸ Edward
21	Cystennyn	21	
22		22	Alban ¹⁹
23		23	
24	Dyvan, Fagan	24	<i>Nativity of St. John the Baptist</i>
25		25	Amphibalus ²⁰
26	Lles baptized	26	Twrog
27	Melangell	27	John ²¹
28		28	
29	Dywig	29	<i>St. Peter, Apostle</i>
30		30	
31			

JULY.		AUGUST.	
1	Julius, Aaron	1	Elined, Winwaloe
2	Ondocens	2	
3	Voadin	3	
4		4	Baan
5		5	Ceitho ²²
6	Eurvyl	6	
7		7	Clardia
8		8	Fagan, Hychan, Illog
9		9	
10		10	
11		11	Llwni, Martin
12		12	
13	Dogvan	13	
14		14	
15		15	
16		16	
17	Cynllo Vrenhin	17	
18		18	Elen
19		19	Clydog, Mochta ²⁴
20		20	
21		21	
22	Alban ²³	22	Gwyddelan
23		23	Tydvyl, Justinian
24		24	<i>St. Bartholomew the Apostle</i>
25	<i>St. James the Apostle. Cyndeyrn</i>	25	
26	Peris [ab Arthog, Mordeyrn	26	
27		27	Degeman
28	Samson	28	Regulus, ²⁵ Melorus
29	Bleiddian	29	<i>St. John Baptist beheaded</i>
30		30	
31	Garmon	31	

SEPTEMBER.

1	Sulien
2	
3	Mansuetus ²⁶
4	Rhuddlad, Marcellus ²⁷
5	
6	
7	Dunod
8	Nativity of Virgin Mary
9	Aelrhiw
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	Tecwyn
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	<i>St. Matthew the Apostle</i>
22	
23	Tecla ²⁸
24	
25	Caian
26	Elvan
27	
28	
29	<i>St. Michael the Archangel</i>
30	Nidan

OCTOBER.

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	Cynhaval
6	
7	Cynog
8	Ceinwen, Ceneu
9	Cadw: Iadr
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	Tudur, Brothen, Tecla ²⁹
16	
17	
18	<i>St. Luke the Evangelist</i>
19	
20	
21	Llyr, Ursula ³⁰
22	Mello, Cordula
23	
24	Cadvarch
25	
26	Gwyno
27	
28	<i>St. Simon and Jude, Apostles</i>
29	
30	Issui
31	

NOVEMBER.

1	<i>All Saints day.</i> Clydwyn, Dingad, Clydai, Collwen, Gwensyl, Gwyn, Gwynno, Gwynnoro, Celynin, Ceithio, Cadvan, Padarn, Aelhaiarn, Cynddilig, Donna, Gwryd, Cedol, Morhaiarn, Cristiolus, Gwensvrewi [Rhwylidys]
2	
3	
4	Dyvrig
5	Gwenvaen
6	Cybi, Edwen, Winoc
7	Cynvarwy, Illtyd
8	Tyssilio
9	Pabo
10	Elaeth
11	Rhediw, Martin
12	
13	Gredivael
14	Meilig
15	Cynvab, Maclovius
16	Avan Buallt
17	
18	
19	Llwydian
20	Celynin, Edmund ³¹
21	Digain
22	Polin Esgob
23	Deiniolen
24	
25	
26	Teilo
27	Gallgo
28	
29	Barnek
30	<i>St. Andrew the Apostle</i>

DECEMBER.

1	Gwst
2	Llechid
3	Lles
4	Emerita ³²
5	Cawrdav
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	Deiniol
11	Cian
12	
13	Gwynau, Gwynws
14	
15	
16	
17	Tydecho
18	
19	
20	
21	<i>St. Thomas the Apostle</i>
22	
23	Juthwara
24	
25	<i>Christmas Day</i>
26	<i>St. Stephen the Martyr.</i> Maethlu
27	<i>St. John the Evangelist</i>
28	<i>The Holy Innocents</i>
29	
30	
31	Maclog, ³³ Gwynnin

NOTES TO THE CALENDAR.

¹ We have inserted several saints in the calendar which are said to be connected with the ancient British Church, though they do not appear in the "Genealogy of the Saints." We have also completed the fixed festivals of our Lord, and of his apostles, and added all the other red-letter days which are still observed in the Church of England.

² Supposed to be the same as Medwy.

³ Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology.

⁴ Sophias is said to have been the son of Guilleicus, prince of the Ordovices, and to have been by another name called Cadocus.—*Cressy*.

⁵ A Roman, apostle to the Scots.—*Ib.*

⁶ The historian, and second apostle of Ireland.—*Ib.*

⁷ *Ib.* It will be remembered, however, that in this work (p. 136), we regarded the *son of Caic* and the *historian* as one person.

⁸ Moses is said to have been a Briton, and an apostle of the Saracens.—*Cressy*.

⁹ An Anglo-Saxon saint, to whom the church of Knighton, Radnorshire, is dedicated; commemorated also March 18 and June 20.

¹⁰ A virgin; abbess of Wenlock, in Shropshire, and patron saint of Llanvilo, Brecknockshire.

¹¹ A British saint, who settled in Armorica. His death is commemorated on this day, and his translation to the Blandin monastery at Ghent, August 1.

¹² Apostle of the Britons.—*Cressy*.

¹³ Son of Pudens and Claudia, apostle to the Britons.—*Ib.*

¹⁴ The anniversary of his death.

¹⁵ Rees's Welsh Saints.

¹⁶ Converted in Britain, afterwards a disciple of St. Peter at Rome.—*Cressy*.

¹⁷ Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology.

¹⁸ In remembrance of his consecration as bishop.

¹⁹ Gallican Martyrology.

²⁰ Translated.

²¹ A British saint in France.—*Cressy*.

²² English Martyrology.

²³ Commemorated also Nov. 1.

²⁴ A British saint in Ireland; consecrated bishop of Louth by St. Padrig.—*Cressy*.

²⁵ A native of Greece; missionary to the Piets.—*Ib.*

²⁶ A Caledonian Briton; disciple of St. Peter at Rome, and afterwards bishop of Toul, in Lorraine.—*Ib.*

²⁷ A Briton; bishop of Tongress and Triers.—*Ib.*

²⁸ Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology.

²⁹ Rees's Welsh Saints.

³⁰ Ursula, daughter of Dionatus, prince of Cornwall. She was martyred with eleven thousand virgins, one of whom was Cordula, commemorated on the following day.—*Cressy*.

³¹ King of the East Angles, and patron saint of Crickhowel, Brecknockshire.

³² Sister of Lles; martyred at Trimas, near Curia.—*Cressy*.

³³ The compiler of a "History of Anglesea" says that the festival of St. Maelog is Jan. 30.

The wakes of the following could not be inserted in the calendar, being either uncertain or moveable:—Mwrog, January 6 or 15; Gwynio, March or May 2; Gwyrvarn, Trinity Sunday; Ellyw, the Sunday next before the 1st of August (O.S.); Elian, in the month of August; and Rhystud, the Tuesday before Christmas.

Upwards of one hundred and sixty of the foregoing may be considered more especially the saints of Cymru, their connection with it being well authenticated, and the pedigrees of most of them indubitably established.

The names of about three hundred additional saints occur in different catalogues, most of whom, as founders of churches, were honoured with parochial festivals, though the dates of their observance have not been ascertained by the writer of the present work.*

It is suggested by Professor Rees that great assistance in ascertaining and verifying the commemorations may be derived from a list of village fairs, which are often held in the principality on the Saint's day, old style. For instance, we learn from a catalogue of Saints in the Cambrian Register, as well as from Sir Harris Nicolas's Calendar, that the festival of Gwenog should be held on the 3rd of January; eleven days† being added to that date, will point out to Jan. 14, the day upon which, according to the Welsh almanacks, a fair is held at Llanwenog, in the county of Cardigan. By inverting the computation, he says, a satisfactory method is obtained of deciding between contradictory statements; thus, according to the list in the Cambrian Register, the festival of Tyssul was kept on the 3rd of February, while Sir H. Nicolas mentions January 31. A fair, however, is held at Llandyssul, Cardiganshire, February 11; and eleven days, reckoned backwards from that time, will bring the calculation to January 31, proving the last of the two state-

* See Rees's Welsh Saints.

† The Welsh peasantry have seldom taken into account, that since the year 1800 the discrepancy between the old and new styles has increased to *twelve* days.

ments to be the correct one. Again, Sir H. Nicolas assigns the festival of Caron to March 4 or 5, as if his authorities were doubtful as to the precise time; but eleven days, counted backwards from a fair at Tregaron on the 16th of March, will show that the commemoration of the Saint ought to be kept March the 5th.*

We infer from the reform which was brought about in the beginning of the eleventh century by Joseph, bishop of Llandaff, that the manner in which these festivals or wakes were originally celebrated, was "by prayer to God, charity, almsgiving, and a due commemoration of God and his saints, and of their praiseworthy deeds."†

All the saints of Cymru, of whom we have any account, lived prior to the eighth century, with the exception of five, namely:—Elvod, bishop of Bangor, A.D. 755—809; Cyvelach, bishop of Morganwg, about the same time; Sadyrnin, bishop of St. David's, who died A.D. 832; Caradog, a hermit of Harolds-ton East, who was canonized by the pope, at the solicitation of Giraldus Cambrensis; and Gwryd, a friar, who lived about the end of the twelfth century.‡

* Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 240.

† Brut y Tywysogion, Myv. Arch. vol. ii.

‡ Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 305.

CHAPTER XXV.

MISCELLANEOUS PARTICULARS.

“Let all things be done decently and in order.”—1 Corinthians xiv. 40.

SANCTUARY.

DYVNWAL MOELMUD invested certain cities and temples, as well as the roads leading to them, with the privilege of protecting delinquents from the rage of their persecutors.* This right of sanctuary, Lleirwg afterwards confirmed to the Christians in connection with their places of worship, at the time when he established their religion in his dominions.† And in several of the grants of villages and churches from the fifth century downwards, which are recorded in Liber Llandavensis, we find particular mention made of their privilege of refuge.‡ It appears from the laws of Hywel Dda, that some churches could legally shelter the accused for more than seven years. We learn also from the same source, that the person who sought refuge was obliged to tarry in the mynwent and corfflan, whilst his cattle were permitted to feed each day with those of the monastery, as far as they could go, so that they returned to their own stalls in the evening. If an action was successfully brought against him, and he refused to make compensation for his crime, he forfeited the protection of the priests and monks of the place. In like manner, if he committed any offence

* Brut G. ab Arthur, Myv. Arch. vol. ii.

† Rog. Wendov. ad annum grat. 184. Matth. Paris. Matth. Westmonast. and Histor. Roffens. ad ann. 187.

‡ Lib. Land. *passim*.

above a certain estimate within the precincts of the sanctuary, and was prosecuted for the same, he could no longer enjoy safety there, but might seek it in another asylum.*

The relics of the saints also possessed the privilege of protecting those persons who carried them in their hands, subject to limitations of the like nature as those we have noticed in the case of churches and churchyards.†

THE CROSS.

The cross was venerated in Britain at an early period. Archbishop Usher mentions two coins which were found somewhere in England, one silver and the other gold, having on them the image of a king, with a cross, and the letters LVC., which clearly imply that they were struck in the second century.‡ In the third century, Elen went in search of, and “found the blessed cross, after it had been concealed in the earth by the Jews,”§ near Jerusalem. And it is supposed, that it was in reference to this circumstance the cross was inserted into the arms of the city of Colechester.¶ We have already seen that the cross imparted a distinctive name to some of the Druidical temples, on their being converted to Christian purposes, as, Carn y Groes, and Carreg tair Groes.¶ In the churchyard of Lantwit Major, two large stone crosses still remain, one of them having three different inscriptions: the first, purporting that it was the cross of Illtyd and Samson; the second, that Samson erected the cross for his soul; and the third, that one Samuel was the engraver. The other cross has but one inscription, to the effect that it was prepared by Samson for his soul, and for the souls of Juthael the king, and Arthmael.** There

* Wotton's *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. ii. c. 8.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Britan. Eccles. Antiq.* c. iii.

§ *Genealogy of the Saints.*

|| “*Cives Fl. Juliam Helenam Constantini Magni matrem suam alumnam fuisse asserunt ex Cælo rege natam; et in memoriam crucis ab illa repertæ, crucem nodosam inter quatuor coronas interpositam publico in clypeo gerunt.*” —*Camden.*

¶ Page 173.

** *Rees's Welsh Saints*, pp. 255, 256. A facsimile of the last inscription,

was a leaden cross on the alleged coffin of king Arthur, which was disinterred at Glastonbury in the reign of Henry II.* In a poem by Taliesin, entitled "The Battle of Gwentystrad," the fallen warriors are described as holding a cross in their hands:—

"They jointly fell to the ground when they lost the day,
Their hands were on the cross, and horror was in the pale face of the
dead warriors."†

Also, in the "dialogue between Merddin and his sister," we have an allusion to the same military practice:—

"With a hand on a sword, another on a cross,
Let every man take care of his life;
With Cyndav there is no reconciliation."‡

The following passage, from an anonymous poem, seems to connect the cross in some way with the devotional exercise of the morning:—

"The first thing I shall say,
When I arise in the morning,
Is, 'May I be clothed with the cross of Christ.'"§

Swearing by the holy cross was adopted by the Cymry, but probably after the gospel of St. John, for it is mentioned the last in the Triad of Oaths.¶ Crosses occur as marks in the book of St. Chad; and the register of Llandaf alludes to them as being used on the occasion of making grants of land to Churches, and of pronouncing the sentence of excommunication.¶ The laws give us to understand that there was a cross on the church door, before which it was a man's duty to chant his Pater Noster.** Crosses were also used to mark the boundaries

with an interesting account of the manner in which the cross was discovered by the late Mr. Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg), may be seen in Turner's "Vindication of the Ancient British Poems."

* Leland in *Assert. Arturii*, fol. 22, 23, &c. Camden in *Somersetshire*, p. 166.

† Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 52.

‡ Ib. p. 147.

§ Ib. p. 185.

¶ See p. 196, *note*.

¶ Lib. Land.

** *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. iv. Tr. 164.

of lands, as well as for other purposes appertaining thereto.* Giralduſ Cambrenſis intimates that a perſon, on his taking the religious habit, begged a bleſſing in the form of a croſs, with his arms ſtretched out, and his head hanging down.†

VESTURES.

As the Chriſtian prieſts of early Britain retained the ancient hood, ſo we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that they abandoned the ſacerdotal veſt of the Druid. This was a linen robe of pure white, flowing down from the ſhoulders to the ancles, differing in ſhape from the preſent ſurplice, in that one ſide folded over the other in front, and was faſtened by a loop and button at the ſhoulder, like a caſſock. The ſleeves were alſo open on the upper ſide, along the arm as far as the ſhoulder, diſcloſing a tunic or white jacket underneath, which had tight ſleeves, with cuffs turned up at the wiſts, and cut in points.‡

The lay monks of Bardſey are ſaid to have worn black cowls. In the monaſtery of St. David, they were clothed with garments of ſkins. The legend of St. Tydecho, according to ancient MSS., ſays that he wore a hair coat (pais rawn).§

THE TONSURE.

The Britons differed from the Romaniſts in reſpect to the tonsure; for, whiſt theſe polled their heads in ſuch a manner as to leave a circle of hair to repreſent the crown of thorns, the former ſhaved an imperfect circle, from ear to ear, acroſs the

* "*Crocsraen*, limes lapideus in agro poſitus, et cruce ſignatus, lapis terminalis." "*Crocs*, *crux*. Sollemne fuit Wallis Terrarum Dominis cum quis fundum experiundi poteſtatem peteret, crucem in fundo iſto figere ad denotandum fundum iſtum exinde in manu Domini eſſe; nec prius crux iſta dimovebatur, aut experiundi poteſtas conceſſa fuit, quam ſummam pecuniæ a Petitore Dominus acciperet."—*Wotton's Leges Walliæ, Gloſſar.*

The following adage, taken apparently from the practice of erecting ſeats near croſs-roads, contains a beautiful ſpiritual truth—

"There is a reſting place where there is a croſs."

† Giralduſ Camb. Cambriæ Descriptio.

‡ James's Patriarchal Religion of Britain, p. 75.

§ Jones's Relics of the Welch Bards, vol. i. p. 9. Camb. Regiſt. vol. iii. p. 510.

front of the head.* They might have derived this fashion from one of the apostles, as did the Romans from St. Peter; for “the apostles were not all shaven after one and the same manner.”† Or they might have borrowed this particular form from the garland and tiara which the Druids wore.‡ Either of these suppositions is much more reasonable than that which attributes it to Simon Magus, for there is not the slightest proof besides that the Britons knew anything of the doctrines and practices of that apostate. Moreover, they clearly repudiated such an imputation in this instance, alleging, on the contrary, that they derived their tonsure from their own ancestors, who were men illumined with divine grace.§

In the laws of Hywel Dda, to adopt the tonsure is synonymous with receiving holy orders, which would restrict the usage to the clergy.||

THE CROZIER.

Jonas Mynyw seems to allude to the crozier and its signification, in the lines quoted at page 255. The crozier of Curig

* See Usher, cap. xvii.

† Ceolfridus apud Bed. lib. v. c. 22. “Subdiaconus ordinatus, quatuor expectavit menses, donec illi coma creseceret, quo in coronam tonderi posset. Habuerat enim tonsuram, more Orientalium, Sancti Pauli Apostoli.”—*Bed. lib. iv. c. i.*

Το ἐε κείρεσθαι τὴν καρὰν ὀλοτελῶς, κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθεοῦ, καὶ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.—*Germanus Constant. Archiepisc.*

Ο ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ του ἱερέως περικειμενος διπλους στεφανος ἐκ τῆς τῶν στιχῶν συνρεισεως, εἰκονίζει τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου τιμὴν καρὰν.—*Ib.*

‡ A Druid in his judicial habit had a wreath of oak leaves encircling his temples, and a tiara of pure gold in the form of a crescent placed behind it, the narrow points of which were concealed behind the ears, whilst the broad or middle part presented a bold front over the crown of the head.”—*James's Patriarchal Religion of Britain*, p. 77.

§ “Seque tali excusationis apologiâ pertinaciter defendentes vivunt, quod auctorum et præcessorum suorum tonsuram imitentur, quos divinâ illustratos gratia fuisse grandiloquis assertionibus contestantur.”—*Aldhelmus in epist. ad Britannorum Cornubiensium regem et sacerdotes.*

|| *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. iv. tr. 31, 80, 74.

Lwyd, as already noticed,* was extant in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis. Gwynvardd Brycheiniog speaks of the “golden topped crozier” of St. David.† The “crozier and gospel” occur in the laws, and it would appear that they were carried by bishops and abbots, to swear by when they fixed the boundaries of territories.‡

* Page 151.

† Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 272.

‡ Leges Wallicæ, *Glossar*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DOCTRINE.

“Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them: for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.”—1 Timothy iv. 16.

THE Church of Cymru undoubtedly received all the articles of the Christian faith which are embodied in the Apostles' Creed. We do not, therefore, intend in this place to quote extracts which will merely prove those doctrines in the main, but such as will exhibit the peculiar aspects in which some of them and their adjuncts were viewed, with a few other particulars of less moment. In order to this, we must have recourse to the writings of the bards, who, being members of the Church, would not willingly misrepresent its tenets, or promulgate a different belief. The “Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brevi”* shall likewise be largely cited, which, though somewhat later than the period of our history, may yet be reasonably adopted in this instance; for

* This is a Welsh translation of the “Liber Elucidarius.” The work was very much used in the Principality about the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Iorwerth Llwyd, A.D. 1310—1360, says of Hopeyn ab Thomas, that

“He learned the clever and noble books

Of the pleasant and earnest *Elucidarius*.”—Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 507.

There is a MS. copy of it in the library at Jesus College, Oxford, entitled, “The Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brevi.” It professes to have been written by Gruffydd ab Ll. ab Philip ab Trahaiarn of Cantrev Mawr by the hand of a friend who was then an anchorite at St. David's, A.D. 1346. The extracts inserted in the present work are from an English translation which was furnished to the writer; he cannot vouch for its accuracy, not having the Welsh MS. by him.

we do not read that the doctrinal sentiments of the Welsh underwent any change in the interim. Moreover, our bardic documents will shew a remarkable agreement with several points in that book, which may be considered to possess very peculiar features. We can, therefore, hardly expect it to differ from the sense of the early Church of this land, on subjects of a more general and Catholic nature.*

THE TRINITY.

Q. "How is the Trinity in Unity understood to be?"

A. "Look upon the sun, wherein there are three things, viz. fiery power, light, and heat. And they cannot be divided; for, shouldst thou wish to be able to take away the heat, there would be no sun; or, shouldst thou take away the light, there would be no sun. By the fire, is understood the Father; by the light, is understood the Son; by the heat, is understood the Holy Ghost."†

Great virtue was ascribed to the very names and words of the Holy Trinity. Thus Taliesin:

"If thou wilt only remember the names of the Trinity,
Nothing can prevail against thee."‡

And again, speaking of the Eucharistic elements, he says:

"The words of the Trinity
Consecrate them."§

According to Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh sat down to table by threes, in honour of the Trinity.||

HEAVEN.

Q. "What is heaven?"

* The doctrinal phases of the Cambrian Church may have been somewhat different in the latter part of her history from what they were at first; it is therefore as illustrative of her latest form that we must regard the "Book of the Anchorite" and the medieval poems.

† The Book of the Anchorite. ‡ *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 84. § *Ib.* p. 93.

|| *Cambriæ Descriptio.*

A. "There are three kinds of heaven spoken of, *i.e.* one corporeal, which we see; the second is a spiritual one, in which it is believed the angels dwell; the third is the intellectual heaven, wherein is the Trinity.*

THE NINE JOYS OF HEAVEN.

"Day without night, or light without darkness.
 Peace without war, or love without enmity.
 Health without sickness, or delight without trouble.
 Joy without sorrow, or pleasure without displeasure.
 Riches without voluptuousness, or possession without sin.
 Understanding without lack thereof, or knowledge without ignorance.
 Honour without shame, or respect without disrespect.
 Liberty without bondage, or what one willeth without its being wrong.
 Life without death, or God and enough."†

HELL.

After God had founded the kingdom of heaven, "He created the world, and in it a place of death, which is hell."‡ The pains of hell were supposed to consist in extreme cold and extreme heat :

"Where there is groaning,
 Where there is burning,
 Without deliverance.
 Where there is gnashing of teeth,
 Where there is cold,
 And snow and ice."§

ANGELS.

"The three peculiar nines: the nine waves of the ocean, the nine orders of heaven, and the nine months of gestation."||

"The nine orders of heaven, majestic hosts."¶

Q. "Why did He make the nine ranks of angels?"

A. "By reason of the Trinity; because in nine there are

* The Book of the Anchorite.

† Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 130.

‡ The Book of the Anchorite.

§ Jonas Mynyw apud Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 99 and *passim*.

|| Pughe's Dict. sub voce *naw*.

¶ Attributed to Taliesin, in Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 170.

three times three. And He made man of one rank, by reason of unity, as He would be worshipped as One and as Three.”*

The angelic orders were called seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers, archangels, and angels.†

According to some medieval poems, the angels were created on a Sunday, and were addressed by the Creator, when He said, “Let us make man.”‡ In this latter point, the Cambrian seems to have differed from the Anglo-Saxon Church, which interpreted the passage to mean a Trinity of Divine Persons.§

Q. “What nature have angels?”

A. “That of spiritual fire, as it is said, ‘He made His angels of flame of fire!’”

Q. “What kind of form is that which angels have?”

A. “The same that God hath, after a certain fashion. For, as the image of the seal remains in the wax, so the image of God and His likeness in them.

Q. “With what similitude are they like to Him?”

A. “They are like Him in that they are light, and in that they are incorporeal, and filled with all beauty.

Q. “Do they know, and can they do all things?”

A. “They have not in their nature the seeds of any ignorance.

Q. “What hast thou to say concerning the good angels?”

A. “After the fall of the rest, they were strengthened, so that they should not be able either to fall or to sin for ever.

Q. “Why could they not either fall or sin?”

A. “Because they would not desire it.

Q. “Has the number of the good been less, owing to the fall of the bad?”

* The Book of the Anchorite.

† This notion is said to have been derived from a supposititious work of Dionysius the Areopagite.—See *Massingberd’s English Reformation*, p. 156, *note*.

‡ Gruffydd ab Mareddydd, 1510—1360; and Anonymous, apud Myv. Arch. vol. i. pp. 459, 540.

§ Soames’s Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 253, *note*.

A. "No : but to fill up the number of the elect, man has been created in the tenth rank."*

DEVILS.

"The first angel was named from his fall, and was called Satan, *i. e.* the adversary of God.

Q. "Say in what he has been the adversary of God ?

A. "When he saw that he excelled all the orders of angels in glory, he dared to hold himself as high as God, or even greater than Him.

Q. "What sort was he ?

A. "He was somewhat like the Lord, who yet was greater than he. He wished to assume a nature that was greater than that which God had given him, and through a bold discontent of God, to conspire with others, and to be lord over them.

Q. "What then ?

A. "From what place below the court of heaven he fell, he was cast into the lowest prison. And as he was before the fairest, so he afterwards became black. As he was before the brightest, so he has been since the darkest. And as before he was worthy of praise and honour, so afterwards he became associated with every disgrace.

Q. "How long did he dwell in heaven ?

A. "Not half an hour. For he stood not firm in the truth. For when he was made he fell.

Q. "Why was he not there longer ?

A. "Lest he should taste any of the sweetness of life, and seek too anxiously how to possess himself of it by violence.

Q. "How did the other angels sin ?

A. "In conspiring with him.

* The Book of the Anchorite.

"Christ came to the world, lest Adam should be
With his people in hell with fiends most slavish,
To fill heaven on all sides round the exalted king,
The place that was lost by a most untractable angel."

Bledlyn Vardd, A.D. 1250—1290.

Q. "What excellent form would they have possessed, had they overcome God?"

A. "The same which the other angels have in comparison of them.

Q. "What became of them?"

A. "They were cast down together with him, the chief into the lake of death in hell, others into the dark air of this world, with their pains upon them as if in hell.

Q. "Why were they not all cast into hell?"

A. "That the elect might be proved through them, and have a greater reward; and that others might be deceived, and be consigned to eternal fire in the last judgment."*

CREATION OF THE WORLD.

Q. "What was the cause of the creation of the world?"

A. "The goodness of God in making others to partake of his grace.

Q. "Did he make all things together?"

A. "He divided all things in six days into portions. That is to say, in three days he made the elements, and in the rest all things which live in the elements."†

There is a poem in the Myvyrian Archaiology on "the works of the six days," in which the different events are mentioned quite in accordance with the Mosaic account. The author, however, intimates that the creation was for the sake of the baptized:

"When the Sovereign of faith, of mighty arm, and glorious,
Saw how good was his work for the host of baptism."

And, singularly, that

"Adam was the first who bore a baptismal name."‡

CREATION OF MAN.

"The revered Bardism says

That man, in his vigour, under the light, is a little world."§

Q. "Of what substance was man created?"

* The Book of the Anchorite.

† Ibid.

‡ Myv. Arch. i. 540.

§ Iorwerth Vynglwyd, who was a disciple of the Glamorgan Gorsedd in

A. "Of bodily and spiritual strength. The bodily from four elements, as was the world; and man is hence called the little world. For of earth is his flesh, and of water his blood, and of air his breath, of fire his heat.—The spiritual substance is believed to be of heavenly fire. In this is shewn the form and image of God.

Q. "Why did God make man of such worthless materials?

A. "To put the devil to shame; that a thing of earthy mud and dust should reap the glory from which he fell.

Q. "In what place was man created?

A. "In Hebron; in the place where he died and was buried. But afterwards he was placed in Paradise."*

"The All-disposer made
In the depth of Hebron's vale,
With his bright hands,
Adam of excellent form.

And five hundred years,
Without much fostering care,
Was he lying stretched,
Before obtaining a soul."†

Q. "What kind of place is Paradise, or where is it situated?

A. "It is the most beautiful spot in the East, in which were set sundry kinds of trees, to provide against sundry wants. So that if man ate of the fruit of a certain tree in its season, he could suffer no hunger from henceforth. And from eating of another, he could suffer no thirst. Of another, he could never suffer fatigue. Of another, old age. And finally, whoso should have eaten of the Tree of Life, could never feel sickness, and could never die.

Q. "Where was woman created?

A. "In Paradise, from the side of man while asleep."‡

1460, and presided there in 1500. Gregory Nazianzene and Augustine likewise speak of man under the same figure. Taliesin has two poems, headed respectively "the Great World," and "the Little World."

* The Book of the Anchorite.

† Taliesin, Myv. Arch. i. 92.

‡ The Book of the Anchorite.

“ Elohim made,
 In the court of Paradise,
 Out of a left rib,
 A woman of radiant beauty.”*

Q. “ What kind of sleep was that ?

A. “ A spiritual trance ; for God took him from the heavenly Paradise into a place where was shown to him how that Christ should be born, and the Church be born of him ; and on the spot when he awoke he prophesied of them.”†

FALL OF MAN.

Q. “ Why did the devil deceive them ?

A. “ On account of envy. For he knew that man would attain to the honour from which he fell through pride.

Q. “ Did the serpent speak ?

A. “ No ; but the devil spoke by the serpent, as he now speaks by the man on whom he has hold, and as the angel spoke by the ass.

Q. “ How long were they in paradise ?

A. “ Seven hours.”‡

“ Seven hours were they
 Keeping the orchard,
 Before meeting with Satan,
 Ranger of Tartarus.”§

Q. “ Why were they not longer there ?

A. “ Because immediately when the woman was made, she turned to evil.

Q. “ In what hour was man made ?

A. “ In the third hour was man made, and in it all the animals were named. And in the sixth hour the woman was made, and immediately she took the forbidden apple, and brought down death upon her husband, and to his death did she eat of it. And in the seventh hour the Lord drove them out of Paradise.

* Taliesin.

† The Book of the Anchorite.

‡ Ib.

§ Taliesin.

Q. "Where did Adam go then ?

A. "He returned to Hebron where he was made, and there he begat children."*

"From thence were they driven
In shivering and cold,
To find their subsistence,
Into this world.

To bear through travail
Sons and daughters,
To have dominion
Over Asia's land."†

Q. "What was the cherubim with the sword of fire ?

A. "The sword is a sea of fire that has been around Paradise from the time that sin was committed in it unto this day. The cherubim is an angelic guard like unto fire."‡

BIRTH OF CHRIST.

"Jesus came from Mary's womb :
And the night on which our Saviour Jesus was born,
The angelic choir of heaven was heard to sing "Gloria
In excelsis Deo, et in terra."§

Q. "Why would God be born of the Virgin ?

A. "God would create men in four ways. 1. Without father or mother, as Adam of the earth. 2. Of a father without a mother, as Eve of Adam. 3. Of a father and mother, as every one of us at this day. 4. Of a mother alone, as Christ of the Virgin. And as death came into the world through Eve being a virgin, so came salvation into the world through the Virgin Mary.

Q. "Why of the Virgin Mary rather than any other virgin ?

A. "Because she was the first ever to make a vow to God to maintain purity in this world.

Q. "When was the fulness of time ?

A. "In the middle age of the world.

* Book of the Anchorite.

† Taliesin.

‡ Book of the Anchorite.

§ Taliesin, or Jonas Mynyw. *Myv. Arch.* v. p. 97.

Q. "In what manner was he born of the Virgin?"

A. "Without impurity and without pain.

Q. "Why was he nine months in the Virgin's womb?"

A. "To show that he would bring all, who were shut up in the misery of this world, to the fellowship of the nine orders of angels.*

Q. "In what hour was he born?"

A. "As the prophet says, at midnight he came out of his kingly habitations.

Q. "Why at night?"

A. "To bring those who were in the darkness of error into the light of truth.

Q. "Did anything wonderful happen when Christ was born?"

A. "Seven extraordinary events took place. 1st. A star of prodigious light appeared. 2nd. A golden circle shone round about the sun. 3rd. A well of oil sprung up out of the ground. 4th. Peace prevailed over the whole world. 5th. A decree was issued that the whole world should pay tribute to Rome. 6th. Thirty thousand of those who opposed God were slain in one day. 7th. The dumb animals spoke.

Q. "I would know the meaning and virtues of these things.

A. "The stars signify the saints, and the very bright star is the chief of saints, that is, Christ. The circle of gold that shone round the sun signifies the Church of God.—The well of oil that sprung out of the earth, is the well of mercy which flowed from the Virgin Mary. There was peace in the world, when he who was the true peace came upon the earth. The world was registered for taxation, to show that it was subject to the true Judge. Those who were slain show that they will go into utter destruction who oppose their will to God and his commandments. The dumb animals spoke because the people of the Saracens will return to praise God."†

* It will be recollected that the nine orders of heaven, and the nine months of gestation, occur together in the Triad of the "peculiar nines," p. 315.

† The Book of the Anchorite.

HIS DESCENT INTO HELL.

“Multitudes there were in the confused course
Of hell, a cold refuge,
During the five ages of the world,
Until Christ released them from the bondage
Of the immensely deep abyss of *abred* :—
All those has God taken under his protection.”*

“There are three places where light once shone, but will never shine again : the depth of the sea, when Moses fled before the host of Pharaoh ; the bed of Jordan, when Jesus went down to be baptized by John the Baptist ; and the entrance of hell, when Christ went to deliver the souls of the elect.”†

From several poems of the middle ages, we learn likewise that our Redeemer proceeded to the gates of hell, pierced the old serpent with his cross, and triumphantly carried away his spoil.‡

Q. “To what region went his soul after he was dead ?

A. “To the heavenly Paradise, as he says to the thief, ‘To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.’

Q. “At what time did he descend into hell ?

A. “At midnight. On the night that he arose, in the hour that the angel destroyed Egypt, in that same hour, that is, at midnight, Christ despoiled hell. And he made the night to shine as the day, as it is said, ‘The night is made as clear as the day.’ And after despoiling hell, and placing the elect in Paradise, he revisited his body in the grave, and arose from the dead. But some have understood with regard to the time when he was dead, that when he arose he was in company with the elect in hell, and that from thence he went together with them to arise. And understanding it thus, he was not despoiling hell the whole time he was there.”§

* Taliesin, Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 170.

† Ib. vol. i. passim.

† Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 134.

§ The Book of the Anchorite.

THE PERIOD BETWEEN HIS RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION.

“ After the space of forty days
He went into heaven.....”*

Q. “ Why dost thou not mention in what place he was during the forty days ?

A. “ After he had arisen from the earthly Paradise, he was with Elias and Enoch, and with those who had arisen with him.

Q. “ What form was he possessed of after his resurrection ?

A. “ He was seven times brighter than the sun.

Q. “ What form did his followers see ?

A. “ The form in which they had been accustomed to see him before his passion.

Q. “ Was he clothed ?

A. “ He had taken a robe from the clouds. And when he ascended up to heaven the cloud vanished away, being the twelfth time that Christ showed himself.†

HIS ASCENSION.

Q. “ Did he ascend alone ?

A. “ Some rose together with him, and ascended.

Q. “ In what shape did he ascend ?

A. “ In the shape he had before his passion, when he was entering the sky ; in the form in which he appeared on the mount, when he was going up into heaven.‡

THE COMING OF THE HOLY GHOST.

Q. “ Why did he not send the Holy Ghost at the end of the forty days ?

A. “ For three reasons : first, that the Apostles might prepare themselves by prayer and fasting against his coming. The second was, to show that whosoever shall fulfil the commands of Christ will receive the Holy Ghost. The third is, that as the law of love had been given to the people of God at the end

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 97.

† The Book of the Anchorite.

‡ Ib.

of the fifty days after their deliverance from Egypt, so in an equal space of time should the faithful people be delivered, who had lost the home of their father in Paradise, after Christ had risen.*

THE CHURCH.

Q. "How is the Church his body, and how are the elect members of him?"

A. "As the body adheres to the head, and the head is lord over it, so the Church, through the purity of Christ's body, has been joined together unto him, and is one with him; and all the just are in their order as members, and this head governs them. The eyes of this head are the prophets who spoke things to come, and the apostles who brought others from the way of error to the light of truth. The ears are those who hear. The nostrils are the discreet wise men. What is cast out from the nostrils, are the persons who, for heresy which they hold, are cast by sentence of the wise from the head of Christ. The teeth are the interpreters of Holy Scripture. The hands are the defenders of the Church. The feet are the labourers that feed the Church of God. The excrement are the oppressors, who afflict the innocent, and are cast out of the womb of the Church. And they are necessarily devoured of the devil, just as swine devour offal and filth. And this body is joined together in one by the cement of love for the body of Christ."†

THE GREAT SACRAMENTS.

Q. "Why did Jesus receive baptism when he was full of grace and godliness?"

A. "Thereby to consecrate the water.

Q. "Why was he baptized in water?"

A. "Because that water is the opposite to fire; and as water extinguishes fire, so it washes out sin in baptism. Another reason is, that water cleanses every unclean thing, and it

* The Book of the Anchorite.

† Ib.

quenches thirst, and in it a shadow is seen ; so the grace of the Holy Ghost washes away the filth of sin by baptism, and quenches the thirst of the soul by the word of God, and the shadow of God and his image are seen when we have forsaken our sins."

"We are buried with him when we are sunk in the water of baptism. And hence we are sunk thrice, in correspondence to the Three Persons."

Q. "Why is his body made of the bread ?

A. "Because he says, 'I am the living bread.' And the blood also of the wine, because he says, 'I am the true vine.' And as the body is nourished by the bread, so is the soul sustained by heavenly food. And as the bread is made up of many grains, so is the body of Christ gathered together of many elect. And as the bread is baked by the power of the fire, so has Christ been baked within the furnace of the passion. And this bread is said to be flesh, because he is sacrificed for us as a lamb. And as the wine is distilled from the malt and the grains, so is Christ's body composed of many righteous. And it has been pressed in the travail of the cross, as the wine in its travail is pressed. And because our souls have life in his blood, therefore is the wine turned into blood, and we see the figure of the bread and wine in their own form.

Q. "How is it said to be flesh and blood ?

A. "The saints say, that it certainly is the body which was born of Mary, which hung upon the cross, and which ascended into heaven. And the reason why it remained in the form of bread and wine is this, lest it should be a dreadful thing for thee to take into thy mouth the blood that was seen dropping out of his side, or to eat his visible body."*

MINISTERS.

Q. "Do such as these (wicked priests) make the body of Christ ?

A. "Although they are far from faultless, yet through the

* The Book of the Anchorite.

words which they set forth, it shall be the body of Christ; for Christ himself makes it, not they.

Q. "Do they receive the Lord's body?"

A. "The sons of God themselves receive it. But with some God is not present, though it be seen that they put it into their mouth, but the angels carry it away to heaven. And the devil casts a live coal of hell into their mouth instead of bread, and the poison of serpents instead of wine, as St. Cyprian says.

Q. "Ought priests of this kind to be obeyed?"

A. "Where they command well, we ought to be obedient to God, and not to them; but where they teach evil, they ought to be slighted, for God must be obeyed rather than men.

Q. "Are they able to bind and loose?"

A. "They are, unless they be forbidden by the sentence of the Church; for it is Christ himself who through their ministry binds and looses. If, however, they shall have been prohibited, they cannot.*

SIN.

"The three roots of all evil; falsehood, covetousness, and pride."†

"The three contrasts of goodness; pride, anger, and covetousness."‡

"There are four elementary kinds of sin; the first, anger; the second, covetousness; the third, indolence; and the fourth, fear. Where one or the other of these be, there is found every thing evil; for out of them all other evils, both mental and actual, grow naturally."§

"Three things which impair the world; indolence, pride, and extravagance."||

"Three things which afflict the world; envy, anger, and covetousness."¶

"The three enemies of a Christian's soul; the world, the flesh, and the devil."***

* The Book of the Anchorite.

† Cattwg Ddoeth apud Myv. Arch. vol. ii.

|| Ib.

‡ Ib.

¶ Ib.

§ Ib.

** Ib.

"The eight chief sins; extortion or fraud, theft, pride, adultery, idleness, gluttony, envy and cruelty."*

"There are three punishments for sin; the punishment of the civil law, the punishment of conscience, and the punishment of God."†

Taliesin speaks of certain poetasters who

"Commended every *deadly* sin."

And in his "confession" he acknowledges that he himself

"Had practised the seven chief sins without penance or fasting,
And neglected rectitude of life, and the seven virtues of the Church."‡

It is affirmed in an anonymous poem of an early date, that the worst kind of sin is *despair*, and that its end will be

"To deserve the eternal pain of hell,
To have an irrecoverable fall,
And to lose God for ever."§

VIRTUE.

"The three principal divine qualities of man; liberality, love, and forgiveness of injuries."||

"The three principal good qualities of man; industry, sincerity, and humility."¶

"The eight works of mercy; truth, sincerity, exertion, amiableness, chastity, temperance, love, and peace."**

RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

"Three things will dissolve every sin;—
Fasting, prayer, and alms."††

* Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 132. In the Anchorite's Book, Adam is said to have committed *the six* chief sins by his transgression in Paradise. These are called pride, disobedience, covetousness, theft, adultery, and murder. The mediæval poets speak sometimes of *the seven*, and sometimes of *the eight* chief sins.

† Cattwg Ddoeth, Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 82.

‡ Ib. vol. i. pp. 26, 100.

§ Ib. p. 177.

|| Cattwg Ddoeth, Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 77.

¶ Ibid.

** Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 132. Said here to be the opposite to the eight chief sins.

†† Aneurin, Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 16.

“The three physicians of the soul; fasting, prayer, and alms.”*

“Fasting, faith, and prayer,
Will surmount every hardship.”†

The best sort of fasting is said to consist in the abstaining from the luxuries of life; and the best alms in the affording of a lodging.‡ The special objects of charity are thus enumerated:

“Three persons that should be dealt with mercifully; the stranger, the widow, and the orphan.”§

In the later ages a recital of the seven petitions of the Pater-noster was urged as a means of obtaining pardon for the seven chief sins.||

INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

“To love God with an upright mind,
And ask the prayers of the righteous,
Will obtain heaven and worldly gifts.”

“What will cause me to avoid [sin]?
Praying to God every matins,
And desiring to obtain forgiveness,
And soliciting the aid of the saints.”¶

“Through the intercession of saints,
And the comprehensive sense of books,
May the Eternal God grant to me
The joyous feast of the region of light.”**

“The prayer of Cynllo will not be in vain.”††

“Let them commit their cause to God and Dewi.

Through the intercession of Dewi and the saints of Prydyn.”‡‡

* Cattwg Ddoeth, Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 71.

† Cattwg or Aneurin. See note, p. 223.

‡ Cattwg Ddoeth, Myv. Arch. vol. iii. p. 41.

§ Ib. p. 81. || Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 517, et al. ¶ Ib. p. 176, 177.

** Attributed to Taliesin; Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 77. †† Ib. p. 83.

‡‡ Golyddan, Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 157. “On the supposition that *all* the poems ascribed to that age (*i.e.* before A.D. 700) are genuine, a point which is more than questionable, the intercession of saints is noticed only three times; namely, once respectively in two compositions which an ancient MS. attributes, with an expression of doubt, to Taliesin; and the third instance occurs in a

PRAYING FOR THE DEAD.

“ The soul of Owain, the son of Urien,
 May its God consider its necessity ;
 The chief of Rheged is concealed under the green sward.”*

“ Whose tomb is that on yonder cliff?
 His, whose hand proved hostile to many,
 The bull of conflict ;—may he obtain mercy.”†

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Gildas, in his Epistle, quotes from the following books of Scripture : *Old Testament*, Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezechiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. *Apocrypha*, Esdras, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom. *New Testament*, Matthew, John, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews, 1 Peter, 2 Peter.”‡

This person, when he was at Llancarvan, transcribed a copy of the four Gospels, which was preserved in the church of St. Cattwg in the thirteenth century.§ He is supposed also to have written the Book of St. Chad, which consists at present of the gospels of St. Matthew, Mark, and part of Luke to ch. iii. v. 9.||

Taliesin, who was educated at the same school, quotes from the Old and New Testaments, and seems to have an historical acquaintance with the principal events of both dispensations.¶

poem, ascribed in the Archæology of Wales to the same author, but since acknowledged to be modern. The oldest composition in which the *Welsh* saints are spoken of superstitiously, is attributed to Golyddan, a contemporary of Cadwaladr, near the close of the period in question.”—*Rees's Welsh Saints*, p. 68.

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 59; Taliesin.

† Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 82.

‡ Gildas in Epist.

§ Life of Gildas, by Caradog of Llancarvan.

|| See p. 189, note.

¶ Myv. Arch. vol. i.

Tyssilio, and an anonymous bard about his time, both speak of the “ canon ;”^{*} but it does not appear that the British clergy yet recognized a distinction between the inspired and uninspired writings of the Old Testament.

The Scriptures were treated with particular reverence, and were deemed of paramount authority, as may be clearly inferred from the following maxims, which are respectively attributed to Cattwg Ddoeth and Geraint Vardd Glas :

“ The word of God above all.”

“ There is no word superior to every word but the word of God.”[†]

The former of these was so generally received, that even in the sixteenth century the Welsh, when on the point of saying or doing anything, or going to any place, used to express themselves proverbially : “ I will say or do such a thing, or I will go to such a place, ‘ with the word of God above all.’ ”[‡]

The general reading of the Bible seems to have been recommended in the Cambrian Church. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Bledri, bishop of Llandaf, and Joseph his successor, charged their clergy to teach the people the reading of the Scriptures; the latter even commanded them to do so “ without fee or reward,” simply with a view to promote the spiritual welfare of their flocks, and not from any pecuniary considerations.§ This last circumstance would moreover warrant the belief that the Sacred Books were in the vulgar tongue, otherwise it would have been impossible for the people, by reading them, to derive the spiritual benefit intended by the bishops. And yet this view would be irreconcilable with the

* “ Thou art well versed in the canon ;
Inform me of the best almsgiving.”

“ If the words of the canon are to be believed,
We ought not to contend with God.”—*Ib.* pp. 163, 176.

† *Myv. Arch.* vol. iii. pp. 5, 147, 114.

‡ Dr. Davies’s Epistle, prefixed to W. Salisbury’s translation of the New Testament.

§ *Brut y Tywysogion ; Brut Ieuan Brechva.*

practice of Taliesin, who writes his scriptural extracts in Latin, as we have before intimated.

Sayings are attributed to Scriptural personages which are not to be found in the Bible, as, for instance, "the three precepts of Lazarus," which shall be presently related. Sometimes the bards allude to historical events of the Jewish dispensation incorrectly, as in "the account of Taliesin:"*

"I was with my God in the manger of the ass;
I assisted *Moses* through the waters of Jordan."†

HOMILIES.

The following aphorisms appear, by their title, style, and form, to have been of the earliest date, and they may accordingly be considered as the homiletic remains of the Cambrian Church, whilst it was yet in connexion with bardism.

The Triads of St. Paul.‡

"1. There are three sorts of men: the man of God, who renders good for evil; the man of man, who renders good for good, and evil for evil; and the man of the devil, who renders evil for good.

2. Three sorts of people are the delight of God: the meek; the lovers of peace; and the lovers of mercy.

3. There are three marks of the children of God: humble demeanour; a pure conscience; and the suffering of injuries patiently.

4. The three principal things required by God: love; justice; and humility.

5. In three places will be found the most of God: where he is mostly sought; where mostly loved; and where there is the least of self.

6. There are three sorts of lies: verbal lies; the lies of si-

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 20.

† Unless Moses is here taken as the representative of the Jewish people.

‡ E. Williams's Poems, vol. ii. p. 252.

lence; and the lies of false appearances; each inducing us to believe what we should not.

7. Three things shall a man obtain by a belief in God: what is necessary in this life; a peaceable conscience; and communion with heaven.

8. The three advices given by Lazarus are: "Believe in God, who made thee; love God, who redeemed thee; and fear God, who will judge thee."

9. Three ways a Christian punishes an enemy: by forgiving him; by not divulging his wickedness; and by doing him all the good that is possible.

10. The three great concerns of a Christian: lest he should offend God: lest he should be a stumbling-block to man; and lest his love towards all that is good should fail.

11. The three evidences of holiness: self-denial; a liberal disposition; and the encouragement of all that is good.

12. The three dainties of Christian festivity: what God has prepared; what can be obtained consistently with justice to all; and what love to all can venture to use.

13. Three persons have the claims and privileges of brothers and sisters: the orphan; the widow; and the alien."

DAY OF JUDGMENT.

Taliesin has a long poem on the day of judgment,* the most interesting portions of which we here subjoin:

"So, an end will come	Will be broken the bonds
To the stranded plain.	Of all the planets.
Fifteen days†	* * *
Before the day of doom,	Then will there be a mighty din

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 88.

† In a poem by Llywelyn Vardd, A.D. 1230-1280, the signs which shall precede the day of judgment for fifteen days are mentioned, as far as the writer understands them, as follows: fifteenth day, the sea shall arise unto the sky; fourteenth day, it shall penetrate into the bowels of the earth; thirteenth day, another revolution of the sea, not intelligible; twelfth, all the fishes of the deep shall come to the surface; eleventh, a dangerous vacuity, and all creatures

Upon the quaking earth,
When God descends
In the midst of the world.
There will be extreme fear
Upon the four elements.

* * *

When the Prior* comes
With his square trumpets,
And when the sea is set on fire,
And the stones are reduced into cinders.
When the five ages come
Before the Holy One,
Many a tear will fall
Because of the day of judgment.

* * *

There will be immediate weeping
On the earth,
When the Trinity comes
To the plain of Majesty.

* * *

From their graves will arise
All who shall have suffered death,
From the creation of Adam
Until the last day.
Then will our Lord say
To the quick and dead:
Let those who are mine
Go to the right,
And those who have committed sin
To the left side,
That they may go
To a place where is no light.

* * *

To undergo a violent death,
In order to deliver the son of man
From the prison of his enemy.
Both my feet were struck,
(How dear were my merits!)
Most pitiably was I tortured
From head to foot.
Both my arms were struck;
They bore their burden.
Each shoulder received
Steady pain.
Thick are the marks of spikes
Between my eyes.
Thick are the holes
Of the crown of thorns on my temples.
All this I underwent
From love to man.
What have you done,
Out of love to me?
Ye gave me no food,
Nor shelter from cold.
"Lord God, thou shouldest have received it,
If thou hadst but demanded it."
When ye saw a poor man,
In the image of the Trinity,
Paining my body,
In the act of asking charity,
If ye had shewn mercy,
Mercy ye should have received.
Because ye have not shewn mercy,
Ye have lost mercy.

* * *

trembling for fear of a deluge; tenth, men are cheerless on account of the devastation of fiery streams; ninth, sulphuric fire falling from the stars; eighth, a sound, which will make the earth and men to quake; seventh, the rocks rending; sixth, blood oozing out of the grass and shrubs: fifth, the elements failing; fourth, the animals prowling through wilds in sorrow; third, from terror of the judgment, all will lose what they love; second day, men will traverse dark places in sorrow, conscious that they shall not survive; the first day, all men shall be brought together, with their senses perfectly restored.—
Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 362.

* *Al. Pater.*

I went on the tree,
 Have ye delivered up your Redeemer.
 Ye know not how to answer,
 Why ye have crucified me.
 A hundred thousand of angels
 Are witnesses,
 Who came to escort me,
 After my burial.
 "Lord, we knew not
 That it was thou whom we crucified ;
 Sovereign of heaven and every place,
 We knew not who thou wert."

* * *

Eloi says,
 The love-diffusing invisible God,

To a very bloody cross
 That three days before judgment
 Enoch shall reign.
 Then will all flesh,
 The men of earth, say,
 Woe to him who set his mind
 On the bloody ground,
 As John relates
 In the Holy Scripture.
 Woe to him who trusts
 In what is not his.
 There is not of this present state,
 From beginning to end,
 One hour of the day,
 Compared with the life everlasting.

The poets make frequent mention of "three hosts," which shall be judged at the last day; and from an early composition we ascertain that these will comprise respectively "the pure host of the righteous, of the appearance of angels," "the mixed host, like members of a community," and "the unbaptized."*

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"The first was the age of Adam and Eve;
 The second, the age of Noah, who floated in the ark;
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 The fourth, the age of Moses from Egypt,
 Who discovered the twelve ways through the Red Sea,
 Who obtained of the invisible God that Pharaoh should be drowned,
 Who during his fasting received the ten commandments,
 On two tablets of stone, on Mount Sinai;
 The fifth age, the age of Jesus, and it will endure until the day of doom."†

They are enumerated somewhat differently by Nennius,‡ thus :
 The first, from Adam to Noah; the second, from Noah to

* Myv. Arch. vol. i. p. 184.

† Ib p. 96, Taliesin, or Jonas Mynyw.

‡ Hist. Brit. sect. 6.

Abraham; the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to Daniel; the fifth, from Daniel to John the Baptist; the sixth, from John the Baptist to the day of judgment.

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